

**SONS OF THE GREY LAD:
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE
MACGLASHANS IN SCOTLAND AND AMERICA**

By

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IN MEMORIAM

Dedicated to

Army Major William Fredrick Hecker III

Killed in Action in Iraq, January 5th 2006

West Point Class of 1991

Author of *Private Perry and Mister Poe: The West Point Poems, 1831*

A great teacher, scholar, soldier, musician, and friend

In Pace Requiescat

ODE TO ROBERT BURNS

A simple Scots song once proposed
That love is like a red, red rose,
Bursting with passion and subject to prose;
That it lingers not, nor steals away,
The rational part of a Scotsman's heart
That longs for beauty and the loveliness
Of a verdant spring day, bountiful with
Birds astray amid the heather, and the
Thistle, all splendid for the eye to see
And the heart to feel.

So fare thee well, my bonny blue lass,
And keep me in your haunted past,
'Til love again joyfully blooms,
'Mid the heather, the thistle, the roaring
Sea and every breath in thee.

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PICTURE GALLERY

1. Dunaverty Castle, ca 1640. Watercolor re-creation by Andrew Spratt
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INTRODUCTION

The following attempt to bring to life the facts and history of the "Sons of the Grey Lad" began many years ago when I was introduced to some of my American ancestors through a worn black and white photograph of what I perceived to be a portrait of a true American pioneer family, circa 1887. Thanks to the endeavors of a paternal uncle, I became increasingly curious as to how these people lived, where they lived, and how they managed to survive during a time when technology was practically non-existent. Of course, in order to accomplish this, I would have to conduct very time-consuming research, both on the Internet and through records and documents scattered across the Western Hemisphere and beyond. At some point, however, my interest in this project ended up on the proverbial back burner and instead I devoted six years to uncovering the ancestry of an individual well-known in Great Britain and the United States, at least to his fans—the British horror film actor Sir Peter Cushing which resulted in *The Unknown Peter Cushing*, in 2014.

Much like my research project on Sir Peter, this one began with a mere scrap of information, not much more than a paragraph best-suited as a footnote in an ephemeral history book. The source--“The McGlasson Family in Virginia and Boone Co. (Kentucky)” by Barbara R. Dye--self-published as a typescript and presented to the Boone County Public Library as an original manuscript in 1977:

“The name McGlasson is listed in Black's “Surnames of Scotland” and is given in the form of MacGlashen. It is also spelled in some cases as MacGlashen, McGlasson, etc. It is from the Gaelic name MacGhille Ghlais, “Son of the Grey Lad.” “Mac” in Gaelic means “son,” “ghille” is boy or lad, and “Ghlais” is the color grey” (or gray, sometimes

green). ¹ Dye then adds that according to Black, a “McGlassen lived in Black Island, Scotland, in 1500. Several were massacred at Kunavertie in 1647. Many of the name in the Lowlands of Scotland are said to have changed their names to Grey. The MacGlashens are entitled to wear the plaid tartans of the Mackintosh, Stewart, or Robertson clans.” ²

In the *Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History*, George F. Black explains that MacGlashan is patronymic in origin, meaning that it is derived from the name of an ancestral father. Therefore, MacGlashan is the diminutive form of MacGhille Ghlais. Notice the word “patron” in patronymic which in Latin refers to “father” or *pater*. Black also notes that this custom of patronymic origins “appears to have commenced with the beginning of the 14th century when it became the practice for sons to take their surnames from the Christian names of their fathers.” It should be mentioned that this practice began after the Christianization of Ireland and Scotland, due to the fact that MacGhille Ghlais is Gaelic or Irish Celtic in origin. ³ Patronymic surnames like MacGlashan also tended to change within each succeeding generation, especially in the Scottish Highlands where the “cumbersome system was given up” around the latter years of the 18th century. ⁴

A bit more detail is provided by Alan Fairfax of the Academy of St. Gabriel, a volunteer organization that conducts research on Medieval names and coats of arms:

“MacGlashan is a modern Scots and English rendering of the Gaelic name MacGlaisein which means “Son of Glasein,” being a short form of the name Gille Ghlais which developed sometime between the 13th and 15th centuries . . . The closest 12th century form of MacGlashan would be MacGhille Ghlais.” ⁵ Thus, from this point

forward, the 12th century form of MacGlashan will be utilized for all references in the text except for other renderings in specific sources and documents.

Geographically speaking, the MacGlashans appear to have been scattered throughout Scotland but were mostly confined to areas north and east of Edinburgh and Glasgow or within the true “highlands.” There are seven specific locales in which the MacGlashans could be found prior to the Battle of Culloden in 1746: Kirkcaldy, a seaport town north of Edinburgh on the north shore of the Firth of Forth; Crieff, a market town in Perthshire/Kinross and about twenty-five miles north of Stirling, the site of the historic battle between the English and Sir William Wallace; Blair Atholl, a village in Perthshire and about halfway between Edinburgh and Inverness-shire; Dundee, a coastal city west of Perthshire on the Firth of Tay; Strachur, a parish village in Argyllshire in Western Scotland near Glasgow; Nairn, a town and former burgh in the Highland Council area of Scotland and east of Inverness-shire and Loch Ness; and lastly, Dunkeld, located in Perth/Kinross and south of Blair Atholl.

As of 2021 and to the best of my knowledge, only five published works are devoted to the history of the MacGlashans. First, there is Dye's self-published manuscript (available on the Internet) in which she mentions a second source, a “brief history” written by Joel Hamilton McGlasson which in 1977 was in the “treasured possession of R.B. McGlasson of Houston, Texas.” ⁶ After a thorough search of the Internet, this source could not be located and is presumed to be in the possession of Joel Hamilton McGlasson's children or grandchildren. Next, we have “Westward Promise: The Joseph Scotland McGlasson Story” by Eunice McGlasson Pope, self-published in 1993 in Hillsboro, Oregon, and currently unavailable on the Internet or elsewhere.

Another self-published account is “Our Families: Genealogical and Other Stories on the Ancestors, Patriarchs, Famous and Infamous Characters in the Families” of the McGlassons, and three other related families by Bob McGlasson, self-published in 1994. This too is currently unavailable.

Finally, “Matthew McGlasson, 1755/56-1834 Descendants, Virginia-Kentucky-Texas, and Kin” (1999) by Mary Ruth Jackson Gerlach appears to be the most complete account of the MacGlashans in America and is currently part of the extensive library holdings of the Kentucky Historical Society in the city of Frankfort. However, Gerlach’s account is actually nothing more than a compilation of various documents and offers no detailed information on the MacGlashans outside of place-names and individuals. Notice that all of these publications focus on the MacGlashans in the United States, a situation that leaves their history in Scotland and elsewhere (such as Breton, France, possibly during the time of Joan d’Arc) wide open for investigation and discovery.

This brings us to an important question--who or what was the “grey lad”? According to Hector MacLean (d. 1893) of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and a well-known Celtic scholar, the Gaelic surname form of MacGhille Ghlais denotes “son of the grey servant” ⁷ which indicates that lad and servant are interchangeable. This is supported by the *Dictionary of the Scots Language* that describes lad as a young male servant or employee, especially as a worker on a farm or an agricultural community. ⁸ In *Surnames of Scotland*, George Fraser Black (1866-1948), author of six books on Scottish history and culture, states that MacGhille Ghlais denotes “son of the grey or sallow lad,” ⁹ a reference to a person's facial complexion which today connotes an unhealthy appearance or being sickly (i.e., sallowness in

Gaelic). However, it may also indicate that the person in question is elderly, grey and sullen with age and weighed down by the difficulties and disappointments of life. One other interesting piece of information comes from *The Scottish Clans and Their Tartans* which notes that the “MacGlashans are commonly called *Sliochd a Gobha Chruim* or the descendants of the crooked smith,” ¹⁰ which may refer to an elderly man whose occupation involved working with metal as in blacksmithing rather than “crooked,” indicating a dishonest person.

There is also a strong indication that the “grey lad” is based at least partially on characters found in two ancient Scottish folktales or fables. The first is entitled “Feunn MacCuail and the Bent Grey Lad” that originated in Argyllshire, an ancient region in Western Scotland bounded on its northern border by Inverness-shire, the traditional home of the MacGlashans. This strange yet intriguing Gaelic fable refers to an individual described as “bareheaded (bald?) and barefooted” with the “nail of the big toe of his right foot” being seven inches long. The geographical home of this odd individual is not revealed, but he does admit that he comes from “every place in which I have ever been” or no place in particular in relation to his place of origin. ¹¹ Feunn MacCuail, the legendary Gaelic/Irish hero and leader of the Fianna, a clan/tribe that is “widely documented in the 3rd century C.E. during what is now referred to as the Fenian Cycle,” ¹² then inquires whether the Bent Grey Lad is in search of a master or an employer that offers good wages and food. “I am a fellow,” he replies, “who is in quest of a good master.” ¹³

In his notes to this weird tale, the Reverend Duncan MacInnes suggests that the Bent Grey Lad may be an inimical or trouble-making “wizard who comes to test the

strength and valour of the Fenians” or perhaps is the son of the King of Lochlann amid the wilds of Norway and the Viking realms of ancient Scotland. There is also the possibility that the Bent Grey Lad is of the Otherworld which in Celtic mythology is the land of the dead and the home of supernatural entities. This fable probably dates back as far as the 11th century C.E. when Scotland was known as the Kingdom of Alba. ¹⁴

Curiously, the word “bent” in Scottish Gaelic relates to several different connotations, such as something that is folded, like an aged person bent forward because of arthritis or some other physical disability; a person who lives a life of crime; or a person that possesses a specific type of talent or inclination, such as being an outstanding servant to a generous master. ¹⁵ Therefore, the “grey lad” or “grey servant” was most probably an actual person whose main occupation in life was related to paid servitude in a master's household or some other type of domestic position.

The second tale is called “The Odd Grey Lad,” translated from the Gaelic tongue and dated somewhere around the 12th century with its origins placed once again in Argyllshire. The plot of this tale is simple—a man becomes engaged to a young woman, but the man must travel abroad for seven years, thus leaving his bride-to-be behind. As time passes, the young woman becomes impatient and decides to marry someone else. But then the “Odd Grey Lad” returns, but the young woman does not recognize him. The “Odd Grey Lad” then sings a song, and when he is finished, the young woman suddenly realizes who he is (shades of Odysseus and Penelope!) She then embraces him and agrees to marry him. We can only assume that the young woman found her future husband to be odd as a result of seeing him as strange or unusual, a reference to the Scottish Gaelic word “corra.” Part of the song that he sings betrays this oddity:

Grey is the braird, and grey the grass;
 Grey is the wood under its dark shade;
 Grey is the spray on the tree's top;
 And I think, that grey is the holly. ¹⁶

There appears to be some importance linked to the relationship between a servant and his master, at least according to Dean Ramsay in *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (1909). Ramsay refers to this relationship as the “third division” which in many Scottish homes and manors prior to the 20th century “prevailed between members of the family and the domestics.” For example, some male servants remained with the same family for decades until old age. “The faithful old servant,” says Ramsay, “of thirty, forty, or fifty years” either became “great trouble” for the family or created “good feelings” between family members and the master or retainer. ¹⁷ Either way, the old servant played a major role in the domestic history of his adopted family and certainly knew many intricate details about his master's personality and character. An interesting side note is that the Scottish surname of MacGillvray, a sept of the Clan Chattan which will be discussed later on, can be translated from the Gaelic as “Son of the Servant of Doom.”

Although the genealogical aspects of the MacGlashans in the United States are quite compelling, especially for those seeking to know their own genealogical connections through literally thousands of individuals, the historical and cultural aspects of the MacGlashans in their native Scotland between the 12th and 18th centuries, are particularly intriguing, due to my great love for history and their participation in some of Scotland's most important historical events, such as the Battle

of Dunaverty in 1647, the First Jacobite Rebellion (The '45), and the resulting Battle of Culloden in 1746. The MacGlashans were also at times important members of their various communities, a few being Argyllshire (present-day Argyll) which lies to the southwest of Inverness-shire; Lochalsh or the modern-day Kyle of Lochalsh, located on the northwest coast and about sixty-three miles from Inverness; and of course, the county of Inverness-shire where the MacGlashans settled, circa the early 1600's. I should also point out that in this document, I have included several of the MacGlashans whose personal lives were spent beyond the confines of Scotland and were actively involved in some world-shaking military events.

Lastly, as all historians and researchers are aware of, sifting through records and documents to uncover historical knowns and unknowns is a daunting task and more often than not is extremely time-consuming, especially when dealing with resources that are hundreds of years old. I discovered this fact via the so-called “hard way” when doing research for my book on British actor Sir Peter Cushing whose acting ancestry dates to the 18th century. As an unidentified member of the antique Spalding Club of Edinburgh, ca. 1848, once remarked, retrieving information and data on “ancient families is often obscure and hard to be discovered,” due in part to the histories of “famous nations (being) filled with fictions and unwarranted traditions.” Researchers also have to contend with “great and lesser families with evidents (i.e., charters, registers, wills, journals, reminiscences, etc.) that oftentimes have been destroyed” by fire or some type of natural calamity. In addition, when “ancient evidents (are) preserved, (they) are not usually clear nor particular in their designations.” ¹⁸

With this in mind, I hope that the readers of this document will forgive me if I happen to have made a few blunders related to presenting information on the MacGlashans which for the most part has lain undisturbed for many centuries. I would also like to mention that about 80% of the sources utilized for this exploration are in the public domain via the amazing Internet Archives, thus making them primary source materials that are essential for writing about history and how individuals shaped their own personal destinies.

ENDNOTES

- 1.Ch. 1, 1.
2. Ibid. Several corrections are needed here. First, Kunavertie should be spelled Dunavertie; second, it is more correct to say Black Isle which in effect is not an isle but a peninsula.
3. (The New York Public Library, 1946), xxiv.
4. Ibid, xxv.
5. Alan Fairfax, "MacGlashan," Academy of St. Gabriel, <http://www.panix.com/~gabriel/public-bin/showfinal.cgi/260.txt>
6. "The McGlasson Family in Virginia," Ch. 1, 1.
7. "On the Comparative Anthropology of Scotland," *The Anthropological Review*, Vol. IV no. XIV, July 1866, 225.
8. Scottish Language Dictionaries, Ltd., 2004, <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/lad>
9. (The New York Public Library, 1946), 499.
10. W. and A.K. Johnston (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1906), 53.
11. Rev. Duncan MacInnes, Ed. Trans., *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition: Folk and Hero Tales* (London: David Nutt, 1890), 33.
12. Amy M. Durante, "Finn MacCumhail," 2011, Encyclopedia Mythica, http://www.pantheon.org/articles/f/finn_mac_cumhail.html
13. MacInnes, 33.
14. Ibid, 33.
15. "Bent in Scottish Gaelic," <https://glosbe.com/en/gd/bent>
16. Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll: Legends, Traditions, and Recollections of Argyllshire Highlanders* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1885), 235-237.
17. (London & NY: Cassell & Co., Ltd.), pp. 83-84.
18. H. Rose and Lachlan Shaw, *A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock* (Edinburgh: The Spalding Club, T. Constable, 1848), p. B.

SECTION ONE: BEGINNINGS TO 1699

According to Icelandic historian Magnus Magnusson, the “foundation of history is geology,” ¹ or said another way, geology or the study of planet Earth serves as the bedrock for the entire history of the human race. From the perspective of a geologist, the nation of Scotland, known in the 6th century as the Kingdom of the Picts or Alba and associated with the reign of King Bridei III (671-693), ² offers the most varied and divergent geology found anywhere in the world. For example, in the Northwest Highlands, igneous rocks like banded gneiss ³ dominate the natural landscape and in the spectacular region of Torridon, mountainous peaks of basalt and granite separate magnificent glens supported far below by ancient red sandstone, laid down more than half a billion years ago.

There is also the Highland Boundary Fault that characterizes Scotland's violent plate tectonic past with its contrasting lowlands in the south and chiseled mountains north of the fault. Referred to by geologists as the Highland Line, this feature represents a radical change in Scotland's topography, weather patterns, vegetation, and wildlife as compared to areas further south near Dumfries and Kilmarnock. In essence, the geology of Scotland is inseparable from its historical and cultural development over the course of some 1,400 years. ⁴ As Magnusson reminds us, Edinburgh Castle, partially constructed from the volcanic basalt upon which it rests today, dates to the reign of King David I during the 12th century, a time of rapid cultural change marked by new feudal systems and the introduction of Norman English which became the dominant tongue of the Scottish court. ⁵

In the Northeast Highlands, geology was also a major contributor to the development of the region's history and culture. A most beautiful description of this Scottish region comes from Mountford John Byrde Baddeley (1843-1906), the British guidebook writer and compiler with especial knowledge on the Lake District, the home of poets like Samuel Taylor Coleridge (“The Rime of the Ancient Mariner”) and William Wordsworth whose own guidebook on the Lake District, published and updated in 1835, acknowledges the role of geology and geography in many of his now classic poems:

“Mountains. . . so closely grouped together as in some cases to lose their individuality; deep and narrow valleys, threaded by streams or torrent whose impetuous rush is stayed now and again in the calm expanse of a spreading loch (with) banks fringed by birch and fir. On the west, a low but uneven tract of black granite crowded with countless lochs and broken here and there by strips of red sandstone.” ⁶

American author Peter Ross (1847-1907) whose published subjects includes the histories of Long Island and the state of New Jersey, Masonic history in the United States, and a biography on St. Andrew, provides a geographical description of Northeast Scotland with the voice of a true Scottish poet:

“Dark, bleak. . . and mist-shrouded; the tourist can sojourn amid a variety of scenes--green-clad hills, cold frowning rocks bearing the marks of nature's fashioning; lovely valleys and pleasant meadows; inland lakes surrounded by the most romantic scenery that ever delighted the eye of painter or poet, and cities having histories dating back for centuries (that) still possess landmarks connecting those ancient days with the present.” ⁷ Ross also notes how the geography of Scotland, being so “full of characteristics” related to its physical composition, reflects the people that live there.

“We may be certain,” he says, “that its people, the makers of its history, possess marked idiosyncrasies, individualities, (and) positive qualities in abundance.” ⁸

Upon visiting Scotland, any keen-eyed observer would immediately notice the ancient connections between the country's geographical features and a prevalent belief in the supernatural which in many ways has determined the actions and behaviors of the Scottish people since earliest times. Although these connections concerning geography and the supernatural are also found in the cultures and beliefs of other nations, they tend to be more ominous and foreboding in Scotland. For instance, many have sensed “something eerie, something beyond the world” while exploring the hills and crags of the Scottish countryside, where “lightning gleams with a lurid intensity as it leaps . . . from crag to crag” and the afternoon sun “glints on the rocks . . . casting strange shadows” amid the river valleys of the Highlands that have long inspired awe and deep contemplation among its denizens. ⁹

Scotland (Caledonia) During the Roman Occupation

In relation to the problems associated with tracing one's ancestry back to the days of the Roman Occupation in what is now Great Britain (or Britannia), historian Olivier Launay warns us that it is “impossible to form an accurate impression of distant ancestors unless every source of information in a particular sphere” of study, such as archeology, anthropology, written evidence, comparative religions, myths and societies, and place-names defined through entomology, clearly reinforces all other types of information and/or documentation. “Only at such a price,” adds Launay, “can the probability of a hypothesis be established,” ¹⁰ especially when we attempt to focus on

ancient Celtic ancestors that for the most part are totally anonymous and genealogically invisible to us. At this point, all that is at our disposal are a number of place-names or geographical locations that have managed to resist the erosional aspects of time and space. Thus, as Launay points out, ancient individuals and their surnames have been lost to us, due in part to the fact that the ancient Celts did not find it necessary to document their existence except in fables and tales that have been handed down through the ages, especially in relation to specific Roman historians whose coverage of the ancient Celtic world of Caledonia are at best spurious and unreliable. This also holds true for a number of ancient British historians and scholars, one being Geoffrey of Monmouth (died circa 1155 C.E.) whose treatise *History of the Kings of Britain*, written around 1138 C.E., has been described as “one long exercise in fantasy writing for the greater glory of the nation.”¹¹ Likewise, the *Lebor Gabala Erenn* (“The Book of the Taking of Ireland”), written and compiled by anonymous authors circa 800 C.E., was long accepted as an accurate depiction of the history of Ireland (Eire); however, as 20th century scholar R.A. Stewart Macalister declares, “There is not a single element of genuine historical detail, in the strict sense of the word,” to be found anywhere in this work.¹²

It is interesting to note that prior to his military campaigns in Caledonia, circa 82 C.E., Roman Emperor Domitian conducted an attack in Gaul (Celtica in present-day France) against the Chatti who controlled vast areas of Celtia as their ancestral stronghold. According to Brian W. Jones, the Chatti were an ancient Germanic tribe that originally occupied parts of northwestern Germany (Visurgis/Hesse/Lower Saxony) dating back at least to the 1st century B.C.E., highlighted by such powerful Roman men

as Sulla, Julius Caesar, Marc Antony, and Octavian. Roman historian Tacitus (56 to 120 C.E.) relates that a large majority of the Chatti left their homeland of northwestern Germany sometime around 90 C.E. and retreated to the mouth of the Rhine River. ¹³ But what is most fascinating is that the Chatti are clearly linked to the Clan Chattan of Scotland, perhaps some five hundred years after the military campaigns of Domitian. As will be explained in more detail later on, the MacGlashans were members of the Clan Chattan, thus making it feasible that some of them participated in battles against the Roman legions as early as 70 C.E. Of course, the surnames (or tribal names) of these individuals are not known.

Circa 87 C.E., Domitian commenced his military campaigns against the Scottish Caledonians that lived within the geographical areas north of the Firth of Forth, known to the Romans as Bodotria. In *Cassell's History of England: From the Roman Invasion to the Wars of the Roses*, the authors provide a highly-detailed account of these campaigns that is both informative and enlightening:

“In his first campaign, Domitian and his Roman legions experienced a severe check as the enemy nearly forced their camp and were only repulsed after causing considerable damage. In the seventh and last year of his residence (in Caledonia), Agricola (governor of the province of Caledonia from 77 to 84 C.E.) made his great attempt to subdue the ferocious Caledonians. (Thus), he joined to his legions and auxiliaries from the continent cohorts of Britons drawn from the southern portion of Caledonia, and supplied his army by means of a numerous fleet which sailed along the coast” in the region of the Firth of Forth. ¹⁴

As to the battle itself, “The Romans advanced without encountering any serious

obstacles as far as the Grampian (mountains) where the Caledonians under the celebrated chief Galgacus (chief of the northern native tribe of the Caledonii) were drawn up to oppose them, 30,000 strong.” Following this battle, the Grampian plains “became one wide scene of carnage. 10,000 Caledonians perished, while the enemy lost only 360 men,” due unquestionably to the Roman’s use of war chariots and a huge cavalry. Thus, Agricola and his men “passed the night in drunkenness and pillage” as the Caledonian survivors “yielded to despair” by destroying their homes in order to prevent the Romans from enjoying the benefits of plunder. ¹⁵ According to some ancient sources, Agricola and his Roman legions followed the coastline of Caledonia and may have reached the River Spey less than twenty miles from Inverness-shire. At this time, circa 87 C.E., many of the place-names mentioned and described in later sections of this book were wholly present, such as Dingwall, Dunkeld on the River Tay, Atholl nestled in the Grampians, and of course, Inverness at the inlet of Moray Firth where the MacGlashans worked their farms and raised large families.

The geological and geographical characteristics of Scotland can also be applied to the island nation of Ireland which is indelibly linked to the broader history of Scotland and the lives of its people. Most historians tend to agree that there are two distinct historical events related to Irish/Scot migration. The first occurred circa 490 C.E. when the Picts relocated from the western coast of Ireland to western Scotland, thus creating the Kingdom of the Picts. The second migration occurred in the early 1600's when tens of thousands of Scots removed themselves to Ireland. As Jonathan Bardon explains it, Ireland was the main destination for many Scots for several reasons. First, opportunities

for personal advancement were greater in Ireland, especially for craftsmen and artists; and secondly, the Scots were not at all welcomed in the English colonies, mostly due to their religious affiliations as Catholic Scots. Ironically, many Irish Scots decided to return to Scotland in the 1630's so as to avoid religious persecution in mostly Protestant Ireland. ¹⁶ At about the same time, the MacGlashans were also on the move by relocating from County Clare, Ireland, where they had settled hundreds of years earlier, to County Tipperary in the province of Munster. They then moved northwards into Ulster and settled in County Londonderry. Sometime later, the MacGlashans under the surname of "Glasheen" relocated to Northeast Scotland and settled in the general area of Inverness-shire, circa the middle years of the 17th century.

In earlier times, the MacGlashans could be found in various regions of Scotland, mostly in the northwest and northeast, near or in Argyllshire, and within the general vicinity of Inverness-shire. The earliest documentation on the MacGlashans is dated at 1498 when Duncan MacGilleglass received a remission (i.e., a pardon) from King James IV Stewart for some unidentified offenses against the Crown. As noted in *A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*, this remission was linked to the Clan Chattan, a confederation of individual clans with each possessing a clan leader but "bound to a superior chief of the confederation for mutual solidarity, sustenance, and protection." ¹⁷ One of the major members of this confederation is the Mackintosh clan to which the MacGlashans belong as a sub-sept or sub-group. However, the MacGlashans were also (and still are) a sept of the Clan Stewart, descended from the Black Knight of Lorn in Perthshire, and the Stewarts of Atholl, with Mary, Queen of Scots and Bonnie Prince Charlie as its most prominent historical personages. ¹⁸

As previously noted, although we do not possess the identities of individual ancestors during the Roman Occupation, we do have an interesting recording from Claudius Ptolemy, a Greek mathematician and geographer that lived in the Roman city of Alexandria, circa 130 C.E. In his *Geographica*, a compilation of geographical locations and directions that were part of the Roman Empire during the 2nd century C.E., Ptolemy refers to a tribe of Caledonii that lived in the area of the “Great Glen” in the vicinity of Loch Ness and the highlands of the Firth of Clyde. The name of this tribal confederacy was *Dun Chaillden* or the “fort of the Caledonii” which today survives in the place-name of Dunkeld, where numerous MacGlashans can be found living for hundreds of years after the Roman Conquest of Caledonia. ¹⁹

In 1500, Mulmory McGlassen was a resident of the Black Isle which is actually a peninsula, being surrounded on three sides by the firths of Cromarty, Beauly, and the Moray. Geographically, it lies just north of the city of Inverness and east of Dingwall. Exactly why this region is referred to as black is not clear, but some argue that the low-lying trees appear to be black during the winter when the hills are covered with snow; others argue that Black Isle “was named instead because of its association with witchcraft and black magic during the Middle Ages.” ²⁰

As might be suspected, there is a very interesting story that goes along with McGlassen's residency in Black Isle. As told in several documents, McGlassen and some of his neighbors living on Black Isle became embroiled in a dispute with the Highland clan of Rose (pronounced as Ross) of Kilravock, the ancient family associated with Kilravock Castle in the village of Croy, located between Inverness and Nairn. At the time in 1500 or thereabouts, the Roses of Kilravock “came into collision with new and

dangerous neighbors who seem to have had the usual Gaelic right to the lands--that of ancient occupancy.” This collision is outlined in a writ by the Sheriff of Rose that mentions the infiltration of the Black Isle by the Roses of Kilravock who claimed all of the property and incidentals like farm animals and exterior buildings for the Rose clan with of course the blessings of King James IV. ²¹

This feud apparently began in 1482 when the Baron of Kilravock was appointed as the “keeper” and “Captain” of the medieval Redcastle, known as Edirovar, located in Killearnan on the Black Isle. This appointment led to the baron becoming “involved in many and grievous troubles” with the McGlassens and other Gaelic settlers. ²¹ However, it seems that the true origin of this disagreement over the lands of Black Isle began more than two hundred years earlier. In 1242 after the murder of Patrick, the young Earl of Atholl, Sir William Bysset who had been suspected of Patrick's murder, was banished from the Kingdom of Atholl. But Sir William cleverly left behind three daughters with the youngest inheriting “Redcastle in the Black Isle and Kilravock on the River Nairn” after marrying Sir Andrew de Bosco. Mary, “one of the daughters of this latter union,” then married Hugh Rose which bestowed upon him the lands of Kilravock and of Culcowie in the Black Isle as part of her marriage dowry. ²²

Other legal disputes and problems related to the law can also be found in several sources that mention members of the MacGlashan sub-group. In 1519, John Lawmond (Lamont), the Laird of Inveryne, was favored with an instrument of sasine that transferred a portion of land from his father Duncan Lawmond, one of the largest landowners in the town of Kilfinan, Argyllshire, located some thirty miles from Glasgow. As a legal document, an instrument of sasine “records the transfer of ownership (usually

via an inheritance) of a piece of land or a building” and frequently details the names of new and former owners along with a basic description of the property, in this case an unidentified piece of land lying within the boundaries of the small village of Inveryne. One of the witnesses to this instrument of property transfer was John McGlassan who apparently lived somewhere near Inveryne. It is also likely that he owned his own house and/or land, due to the fact that prior to the 20th century, instruments of sasine were almost always legal documents for the wealthy; also, in the early 1500's, if a man rented property as opposed to owning it, he would not be mentioned in the document of transfer. ²³

Six years later in June of 1525, John Lawmond appears again in a similar instrument of sasine issued by Duncan McGybbon of Auchnegarryn for the “lands of Ballochyndryne lying in the lordship of Glendaruel and sheriffdom” of Argyllshire. Historically, the lairds or lords of the McGybbons (or MacGibbons) were “among the small lairds of the area who were wont to be referred to in popular parlance” as true barons, a possible reference to having once held properties transferred to them by the Crown of Scotland or the great Stewart clan. ²⁴ Much like the earlier instrument of sasine in 1519, one of the witnesses to this document was Cristin McGlassan, possibly a brother or cousin to John McGlassan. However, instead of transferring a piece of land as in the first instrument, this one concerns the “delivery of earth and stone and wood” which refers to the materials required to construct a croft house, generally consisting of a thatched roof, natural stone walls, and wooden floors and doorways. ²⁵ Between the years 1527 and 1550, the MacGlashans were settled in numerous locations throughout the northern and eastern regions of Scotland, such as in Strathdee near the River Dee

and Easter (i.e., East) Micras in Aberdeenshire; and Lochalsh or the Kyle of Lochalsh, a village in northwest Scotland and some sixty miles from Inverness-shire. Most of the MacGlashans that occupied these regions during the 16th century were farmers that practiced crofting, a type of land tenure that allowed for a limited amount of food to be grown for the tenant's basic needs and the sharing of lower quality land for livestock grazing. ²⁶

By the early decades of the 17th century, the MacGlashans were living and working within the cultural and social environments of not only Inverness-shire but also small towns and villages located in regions like Perthshire, Badenoch, Aberdeenshire, Kinross, and Argyllshire, with the majority employed as tenant farmers, tradesmen, and general laborers. Geographically, the city of Inverness is located on a wide plain at the meeting of three large openings--the basins of the Moray and Beauly Firths and the great Glen of Albyn with its chain of beautiful inland lakes, some of which are purportedly bottomless, much like the most famous geological feature in this region--the fabled Loch Ness, allegedly inhabited by the ever-mysterious "Nessie."

The mountains that skirt Loch Ness then diverge at its eastern extremity and sweep down toward Nairnshire and Elgin to form an unbroken ridge that extends more than twenty miles before it terminates in the Glen of Albyn. ²⁷ Within the town itself stands Inverness Castle, perched on a precipitous cliff that overlooks the River Ness and which dates back to the 12th century when the site was crowned by a defensive structure constructed of earth and timber. Thus, as William Sanderson in *Scottish Life and Character* reminds us, many of the individual traits of the Highland Scots living in Inverness in the 17th century were influenced by the natural formation of the

countryside with its mountains, valleys, “fields and forest, loch and moorland” that helped to distinguish them from their fellow Scots living further south near Edinburgh, Ayrshire, and Glasgow. ²⁸ An amazing bit of information provided by Scottish historian and compiler James Suter in *Memorabilia of Inverness: Or, a Chronological List of Remarkable Occurrences Relative to the Town and Neighbourhood of Inverness* is that the town of Inverness was “founded by Evenus II, the 14th King of Scotland, who is said to have died sixty years before the birth of Christ,” ²⁹ being about 57 B.C.E.

Historically, the years prior to 1640 were highlighted by disillusionment and discontent in both Scotland and England. An excellent example is the violent feud between Clan Gregor and Clan Colquhoun that resulted in the Battle of Glen Fruin in the county of Dunbartonshire on February 7th, 1603. After the battle, a legal disposition was filed at Dunglass Castle by Highlander Donald MacGlashan who had some of his belongings stolen as spoils of war by the MacGregors, the victors of the battle. He also “informed on those who had bought goods and gear from the MacGregors” ³⁰ since he believed that his property had been purloined.

There were also some serious problems related to the English government and the monarchy of King Charles I, the second son of King James IV of Scotland and a devoted Protestant. Other players included the Roman Catholic Church and its adherents, the Puritans, the Royalists, Oliver Cromwell, and the English Parliament. There were also some major problems related to the Scots and their very unsteady relationship with the English monarchy. The result of all this discontent was the English Civil War in 1642 which in effect tested the power of the monarchy in relation to the idea of divine right or the right of the king to rule his kingdom according to the will of God. ³¹

In December of 1647 following the disappointing conclusion of the English Civil War, King Charles I covertly negotiated a treaty with the Scottish “Engager” faction, being the Scottish Covenanters who signed the National Covenant in 1638 as a way of “confirming their opposition to the interference by the Stuart kings in the affairs of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.” ³² These Engagers agreed in principle to furnish King Charles I with a Scottish army that would enable him to restore his power as the divine king of England. However, after several poorly-coordinated uprisings by pro-Royalists in Wales and England in 1648, it became clear that the Engagers lacked sufficient military experience and know-how so as to continue their subversive support for King Charles I. This became even more obvious when the Engagers were defeated at the Battle of Preston which effectively brought an end to the Second English Civil War and the life of King Charles I who was executed in January of 1649. ³³

In September of 1649, the Presbytery of the city of Dingwall ³³ recorded that Highlander Donald McGillighlaish, along with members of the community of Fodderty, a parish in the County of Ross and Cromarty some two miles distant from Dingwall, had participated as Engagers in the prior insurrection, an act which the church elders at Dingwall considered as traitorous behavior. McGillighlaish and his fellow “unlawful Engagers” were forced to repent their sins and as punishment received censure from the church. Apparently, the elders of the presbyteries of other towns and parishes carried out similar censorial punishments against those who had participated as “unlawful Engagers” with King Charles I. ³⁴

Although the men that made up the Scottish Covenanters possessed honorable and forthright intentions related to preventing the House of Stuart from interfering with

the workings and beliefs of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, their reputation was tarnished forever in May of 1647 via their involvement in the battle and siege of Dunaverty Castle in Kintyre, a peninsula in western Scotland bound by Argyll in the southwest and Loch Tarbet in the far north. Thus, from about 1638 when the National Covenant was signed by the Covenanters until 1688 when Prince William of Orange invaded Great Britain, a “great deal of suffering, torture, imprisonment, transportation, and executions” ensued with the worse being the slaughter of the innocents at Dunaverty Castle. ³⁵

The tragic story of the battle and siege of Dunaverty Castle, undoubtedly one of the darkest episodes in the history of the MacGlashans in Scotland, is provided by James Robert Nicolson MacPhail, editor and compiler of the *Highland Papers*, published in part by the Scottish History Society of Edinburgh in 1914.

Following the Battle of Rhunahaorine Moss in Kintyre, Scotland, on May 24, 1647 that involved the Scottish Covenanters commanded by General David Leslie as the victors and the defeated Royalist forces led by Alasdair MacColla (a.k.a. Sir Alexander MacDonald), an estimated 300 Royalists along with an unknown number of women and children sought refuge in Dunaverty Castle, situated on an ancient promontory that extended into the Sound of Sandra. Many more Royalists had been transported to Ireland several days earlier, yet it is unclear why the remaining Royalist troops stayed behind. Some historians have hypothesized that they refused to leave because of their loyalty to the Crown and nationalistic pride for Mother Scotland. Once word had spread among the Covenanters that the remaining Royalists were holed up in the castle, General David Leslie ordered his men to lay siege to it.

According to Sir James Turner, an Adjutant-General under the command of Leslie and often considered as a “soldier of fortune,” the Scottish Covenanters stormed the castle and managed to seize the water supply of the Royalists. Shortly thereafter, the Royalists inside of the castle requested a peaceful meeting or conference with the Covenanters and General Leslie. The response from Leslie was simple--that they must “yield themselves to the kingdom's (i.e., the Crown's) mercy.” ³⁶ With thirst driving them to despair, the Royalists agreed to Leslie's terms and removed themselves from the castle. Upon exiting, Leslie and his Covenanters proceeded to “put to the sword every mother's son” including women and children. ³⁷ Of the individuals murdered by General Leslie and his Covenanters, six of them were MacGlashans—Finlay McGlassane, his son Iain, Fergus McGlassane, Ewne McGlassane, Lauchlane McGlassane, and another Iain McGlassane. Exactly where these men called home is not known, but we can assume that some of them were from Inverness or possibly Argyllshire.

Much like other historical military events, there are some controversies surrounding the massacre at Dunaverty Castle in May of 1647. First, in the memoirs of Bishop John Guthry, there is some evidence that the Royalists in the castle had been promised quarters or a place to live once they surrendered to Leslie and his Covenanters. However, as Guthry recalls, “But having surrendered their arms, the Marquis of Argyll (Archibald Campbell) and a bloody preacher Mr. John Nevoy, prevailed (on Leslie) to break his word and so the army was let loose and killed them all without mercy.” ³⁸ Afterwards, as Campbell and Nevoy walked among the bodies of the dead, Leslie allegedly turned to Nevoy and said, “Now, Mr. John, have you not gotten your fill of blood?” ³⁹ Also, some years later, a certain Dr. Willcock declared “As a mere

matter of fact, there was probably little blood on the ground (for) most of the prisoners (being the Royalists in the castle) were killed by being thrown over the cliffs into the sea.”⁴⁰ Secondly, there appears to be some confusion related to the offer of quarters and exactly who gave the order to kill the Royalists. Nonetheless, it seems factual that after the Royalists exited the castle, Archibald Campbell, in a fit of vengeance against Clan MacDonald that had once occupied a fort at the site of Dunaverty Castle, “cruelly and inhumanely butchered in cold blood” all of the Royalists with the exception of a single child.⁴¹

MacPhail of the *Highland Papers* then provides a list of those murdered at Dunaverty Castle--fifty MacDougalls, several MacCallums, and six MacGlashans for an estimated total of between two and three hundred. MacPhail also provides a sort of postscript about the massacre--“Attempts have been made to extenuate the Dunaverty massacre by representing that the victims were mere Irish savages. . . noxious vermin. But the victims were not Irish but Scots.”⁴² In the end, Archibald Campbell, his son Archibald, Jr., and several Covenanter officers were summarily executed for their roles in the massacre at Dunaverty Castle.

Political and religious problems continued unabated well into the final decades of the 17th century, particularly in relation to the Crown (the monarchy of King Charles II) and the struggle for Scottish self-rule. In *Scotland: A Concise History*, James Halliday discusses an important document known as the Queensferry Paper which in June of 1680 was a circulating “manifesto of resistance” proclaiming that the people of Scotland would “no more commit the government of ourselves, and the making of laws for us, to any one single person or lineal successor,” being King Charles II Stuart. “If we shall be

pursued or troubled any further in our worshipping, rights and liberties,” continues the manifesto, “we shall look on it as a declaring war . . . and seek to cause to perish all that shall in hostile manner assault us.” In effect, this manifesto, attributed to Donald Cargill, a cantankerous minister banished to the Highlands north of the River Tay, declared open warfare against the tyrannical rule of King Charles II Stuart. ⁴³

It would appear that some of the MacGlashans of Inverness were not particularly “troubled” or concerned when it came to their worshipping beliefs and practices as Protestants. In July of 1681, David McGlashen of the church parish of Croy, the home of the Clan Rose of Kilravock near the Black Isle and the site of the future catastrophe known as the Battle of Culloden, was cited by the church for being a “Saboth braker” (i.e., Sabbath breaker) which he firmly denied. Nonetheless, a sort of scandal ensued after the church elders determined that his disobedience was legitimate. Thus, McGlashen was told to keep the Sabbath *sub periculo* or at his own risk, meaning that any future disobedience could result in more severe punishment. ⁴⁴

A major alteration that occurred after 1560 in relation to the power of the church was the transference of authority to the Commissary Court of Edinburgh for consistorial cases or disputes between a man and his legal wife. The most common of these cases were based on public scandal or the need for a divorce. Legally, a woman could prosecute her husband for divorce as long as she could prove to the court that her husband had been unfaithful. She could also file for a process of divorce based on impotency. According to legal scholar and historian Stephanie B. Hoffman, the typical case for impotence or the “nullification of (a) marriage due to a failure to consummate,” was more often brought before the Commissary Court by the wife rather than the

husband. A case in point involves Archibald McGlassan of Strachur, a parish in Argyll, whose wife sued him for divorce in November of 1693.⁴⁵ It is most likely that McGlassan was either physically unable to consummate his seven year-long marriage because of certain activities outside of the home (too much time spent at the tavern) or was unable to bring about a condition of pregnancy.

By the conclusion of the 17th century, Protestantism had evolved into the major religion of the land which often violently clashed with the Catholic beliefs of some of the clan chiefs that encouraged hard division among clan members. In essence, while somewhat confined to their own Highland territories, clan chiefs and the men and women under their domain had “created a society whose assumptions and purposes differed greatly” between clans and the Crown with the chief's power and influence being generally “measured by the number of followers at his command” who were essentially fighting men.⁴⁶ Thus, the MacGlashans as members of the Mackintosh clan were Highland fighters whose courage and valor would be put to the ultimate test in the spring of 1746.

Like many other Highlander sub-clans, the MacGlashans also belong to one of the most influential and historically important groups, being clan Stewart (Stuart, as in actress Gloria Stuart of *The Invisible Man* with Claude Rains), as a sept, much like their membership in clan Mackintosh and Clan Chattan with the wild Scottish cat as its symbolic representative. More specifically, the MacGlashans are a sept of the Stewarts of Atholl⁴⁷ (recall Lord George Murray as the Duke of Atholl) which since ancient times has been considered as the progenitors of the Scottish kings dating to the Norman Conquest circa 1066 that allegedly settled in the Highlands sometime around the 14th

century with Atholl as the main area of settlement. ⁴⁸ In 1822, a prominent member of clan Stewart mentioned an individual known as the “Wolf of Adenoch” (i.e., James Stewart, Earl of Buchan and Badenoch) who constructed a fortified castle at Garth around the year 1390 when the MacGlashans and their kin were living as primitives in and around Inverness-shire. ⁴⁹ The basic history of the Stewarts began with the spelling possibly altered by Mary, Queen of Scots from the old surname of Stuart via her French upbringing. ⁵⁰

As to the Murrays that figured so prominently in the history of the MacGlashans before, during, and after the Battle of Culloden, the official earldom passed to the Murrays through an heiress of Atholl around 1672. There were also Stewarts (with various surname spellings) that claimed the rights of the clan and its access to Blair Castle. A large number of Stewart families continued to live among the lands of Atholl and many threw their allegiance behind the Earls of Atholl which allowed for the formation of a private group of Highland fighters with the MacGlashans as members. Although the Earl of Atholl in 1715 (i.e., the time of the First Jacobite Rebellion) supported the English monarchy, most of the Stewarts, the MacGlashans, and other Mackintosh septs “flocked to the banner of Bonnie Prince Charlie” ⁵⁰ in 1745 as the bloody spectacle of the Battle of Culloden drew ever closer.

ENDNOTES

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SECTION TWO: 1700 TO THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

Between 1700 and 1745, the MacGlashans were living and working mostly in the Highlands, ranging north of Edinburgh and into the basaltic outer regions of Inverness-shire beyond Moray Firth. Thanks in part to the *Commissariat Record of Dunkeld* which contains a comprehensive list of registers of testament or declarations related to place of residency, vocation, and the number of children, we have first-hand knowledge on the types of professions that the MacGlashans practiced in order to eke out a decent living. For instance, in September of 1720, Alexander MacGlashan is listed as a carpenter in the village of Drumm in Perth and Kinross and employed at the Mill of Loack; and in October of 1743, Duncan MacGlashan is listed as a blacksmith in the village of Kindrochit in Aberdeenshire. It can therefore be assumed that most of the Highlander MacGlashans were employed as general laborers, tradesmen, merchants, and tenant farmers on lands owned by the upper classes. ¹

However, in *The Blackhalls of That Ilk and Barra: Hereditary Coroners and Foresters of the Garioch*, Alexander Morison provides an abstract of a response, dated August of 1710, and written in Latin from the County Court of Banff in Aberdeenshire. This response or *retour* concerns the findings of a jury in relation to an annual rent that remained unpaid because of the death of the renter. One of the individuals mentioned in this response is John McGlassone, described as the burgess of Banff. ² The title of burgess, being a person with municipal authority and special privileges, is one of a few instances wherein a MacGlashan held a relatively high social position in a town, a burgh, or a shire. According to ancient burgh laws, a burgess must own at least one-quarter acre of land within the burgh and pay the Crown a specific amount of money as rent.

A burgess is also required to “swear fidelity to the Crown and the Burgh; to treat other burgesses to a banquet of spice and wine” and to pay a fee to help with municipal projects like maintaining bridges (in Inverness, this refers to the “wooden bridge across the Ness”), cruives or barriers that extend out into a river for catching salmon, and needed repairs for the local parish church. In addition, a burgess was viewed as a guild brother or a member of a Masonic-like order, especially if his profession involved an artistic pursuit, ³ such as being a cabinetmaker or furniture designer.

The single most important political event that disrupted the lives of the Highlanders during the early years of the 18th century was the First Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 which “within the old narrative of doomed chivalry and defeated virtue” symbolizes an age of Scottish melancholia that eventually gave way to the “charisma of Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie)” and the bravery of the Scottish Highlanders before and during the Battle of Culloden in 1746. ⁴ Although a far less amount of material has been published on the Great Rebellion of 1715 which some historians have called uninteresting, it did nonetheless bring about a “genuine national disorder (that) struck at the political foundations of the British Isles” during the accession of King George I. ⁵

The historical background related to the First Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 runs as follows. In 1714, King George I (a German who could not speak nor write the English language) ascended to the throne of England after the death of Queen Anne as the first Hanoverian monarch. King George I was not at all popular among the common people of England and even less so with the Jacobite Highlanders that shared the goal to place a legitimate Scotsman on the throne. In September of 1715, various supporters for the

uprising against the English monarchy, many of them being common Highlanders, bound themselves together as a military-like unit and marched south to join up with the English Jacobites. At the same time, the Duke of Argyll, commanding a huge regiment composed of Scottish loyalists and English troops, was fully prepared to face the Jacobite forces on the battlefield. By early November, the Highland Jacobites had reached Kinbuick with the Duke of Argyll and his forces occupying Dunblane with the aim to intercept the Highlanders. ⁶

In mid-November, the rebellious Highland Jacobites were prepared to face the English forces at Kinbuick, but due to some misguided strategies they instead marched southeast to Sheriffmuir, lying to the east of Dunblane, to confront Lord Argyll and his troops, numbering some 1,000 cavalrymen, about 3,500 infantrymen, and several hundred “Portmore's Dragoons” or the “Scots Grey.” ⁷ On the other side, the Highland Jacobites numbered about 12,000 men armed with broadswords and muzzle-loading rifles. When both sides finally came face-to-face at Sheriffmuir, Argyll's military experience and his well-trained British troops managed to drive back the rebels several times, but neither side ended up victorious. Thus, the Battle at Sheriffmuir was inconclusive as to a real victor, even though Argyll had successfully blocked the English Jacobites from joining in with their Scottish counterparts. In the end, the Highland Jacobites became disillusioned because of their inability to place a Stuart on the throne, but their resolve never faded and in fact evolved into a powerful determination that would be taken to the extreme some thirty years later. ⁸

It could be said that the above-described political/military event is representative of the expanding involvement of the MacGlashans in the history of their nation. In other

words, the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 commemorates the time when the MacGlashans began to make a dent in the overall history of Scotland by letting their presence be known in some high-end cultural/social settings. As described by John Hill Burton and David Laing, compilers of the *Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family During the Rebellion, 1745-1746*, Neill MacGlashan was employed as a notary public in the small village of Clune, parish of Blair Atholl, sometime around September of 1715 when the “false monarch” King George I ascended the throne of England. Neill MacGlashan was also a strident Jacobite who utilized his various talents, such as writing and composition, to help further the cause. Some unverified information relates that Neill MacGlashan was apparently captured as a Jacobite rebel at Sherrifmuir ⁹ where the 6th Earl of Mar, John Erskine, the lead Jacobite commander, “lost interest in the disintegrating rebellion, fled to France, and betrayed many of his Jacobite colleagues by revealing their identities.” ¹⁰ Thus, it is possible that one of these colleagues was Neill MacGlashan whose name does not appear in any other documentation until the onset of the Second Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-1746.

We will now diverge somewhat and examine one of the oldest and most variable of all the Scottish clans--Clan Chattan of which the MacGlashans were (and remain to this day) a proud and rebellious sept of the Mackintosh clan. Sometimes described as the Clan of the Cat, due perhaps to “Chat” being the French word for “cat” as in *Le Chat Noir* (“The Black Cat”), Clan Chattan as a unit dates back to the days of the Scottish Picts when warfare was a daily occurrence related to battling other Scottish/Pict/Angles groups like the Boernicians, the Strathclyde Britons, and the Dalriadans which circa 500 C.E. were responsible for a “great organized invasion of Scotland or *Scotia* from

Ireland and thus successfully occupied the area now known as Argyll” via a settlement founded by the sons of Erc who proceeded to colonize the west Highland fringe of Dalriada or the coast of the Gael. ¹¹ There are also suggestions that the name of Clan Chattan was derived from a somewhat insignificant saint called Katan with links to Dalriada circa 560 C.E. ¹²

According to documentation provided by John MacPherson of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1875, Clan Chattan was first mentioned in an obscure official document in 1467; however, there are some indications that Clan Chattan was involved in the so-called Battle of the Clans at Inches in Perth in County Perthshire in 1396. ¹³ Interestingly, one of the individual names mentioned by MacPherson is Duncan MacGilliglass, a prevailing member of the Clan Chattan in 1427. This person could possibly be the father or grandfather of Duncan MacGilliglass who received a remissive pardon from King James IV Stewart in 1498 as noted in the *Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*.

Geographically, members and sub-septs of the Clan Chattan circa the late 16th century could be found living in proximity to Inverness and northwards to Strathnairn and Strathdearn which were “occupied by the Mackintoshes and their immediate followers.” Thus, Clan Chattan members “occupied nearly the whole of the eastern half of Inverness-shire, considerable portions of the higher districts of Aberdeen and Perthshire, and smaller ones of Banffshire and Nairn.” ¹⁴ As to feud activities, MacPherson states that the septs of the Clan Chattan Confederation, most notably the Mackintoshes circa the late 14th century, were “engaged in uprooting the Comyns” by initiating bloodletting challenges with the Clan Cameron which resulted in the defeat of

the Cameron clan at the Battle of Inverahavon (south of Inverness) in 1370. ¹⁵

Curiously, certain members of the Clan Chattan (quite possibly associated with the Mackintoshes) were privy to a “certain green stone of miraculous virtue” known as the Baul Muloy or Stone of Molinga, being a “saint who was chaplain to the MacDonald of the Isles.” ¹⁶ This refers to the Lords of the Isles, a title for Scottish nobility with links to ancient Viking/Gaelic rulers and landowners. As to the Clan Chattan, MacPherson states that the “keepers of the stone” were loyal followers of the Lords of the Isles circa 1429 and that clan Mackintosh had “charters bestowed on them as heads of Clan Chattan by the Lords of the Isles.” ¹⁷ Certainly, clan Mackintosh wielded considerable power and influence during a time when feuding between the clans and within Clan Chattan itself was commonplace.

Although some of the information provided by modern and ancient chroniclers is not wholly accurate, we can assume that Clan Chattan, symbolized by a wild Scottish cat *rampant* or perhaps sitting or leaping, originated somewhere in the region of Argyleshire around the 7th century C.E. and that they “gradually pushed northwards after the total defeat of the Lords of the Isles in 1165 or after the resettlement of Argyle in 1220.” Also, reliable documentation reveals that the Mackintoshes were promoted to a leadership position within Clan Chattan circa 1430 which might help explain their prevalence in the Highlands in and around the city of Inverness to the present day. ¹⁸

In the multi-volume *The Highland Clans of Scotland: Their History and Traditions*, George Eyre-Todd, best-remembered for his translations and compilations of early Scottish poetry, discusses in-depth the history of clan Mackintosh, descended from Shaw Macduff, second son of Duncan VI, third Earl of Fife, during the reign of

King Malcolm IV, circa 1163 when the Mackintoshes were rewarded for their service as keepers of the royal castle at Inverness and “possessor of the lands . . . in the northeast corner of Inverness-shire.” ¹⁹ According to James Suter, the surname of Mackintosh, much like that of MacGlashan, is patronymic and refers to the “son of the Thane,” the appointed hereditary governor of the castle at Inverness and who “acquired the Captainship of Clan Chattan” by marrying the sole daughter of Doual MacPherson, the ancient chief of the clan. ²⁰

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the long and bloody history of clan Mackintosh is to present several stories based on fact as well as fiction and which the MacGlashans may have played a minor but heroic role. On June 24, 1314, it has been said that Angus, the sixth chief of clan Mackintosh, supported Robert the Bruce at the pivotal Battle of Bannockburn, and that Angus was “one of the chief leaders under Randolph, Earl of Moray.” As a reward for his services (and apparently for surviving the battle), Angus was bequeathed the lands of Badenoch where the MacGlashans are known to have lived since earliest times. Angus and clan Mackintosh also inherited the keepership of the castle at Inverness. ²¹ In retrospect, all of this was made possible by the “aggressive movements of Edward the First (Longshanks) of England” who subjected the people of Scotland to a “course of trial and suffering of the most severe kind which lasted almost a quarter of a century.” ²²

Nefarious best describes an event that occurred circa 1442 at Rait Castle, located just south of Nairn near Inverness. As George Eyre-Todd relates, the Comyns (Cummings) had devised a “crafty revenge” against the Mackintoshes for a previous act involving the drowning of many Comyns forces at Loch Moy. Traditionally, “Pretending

a desire for peace, the Comyns invited the chief men of the Mackintoshes to a feast at Rait Castle (where) the Comyns chief made each of his followers swear secrecy as to his design” of vengeance against the Mackintoshes. However, the daughter of the chief of the Comyns “had a Mackintosh lover and she took the opportunity to tell the plot” to a very special “gray stone” (possibly gray basalt) because she knew that her Mackintosh lover was standing on the other side of the stone. When the Mackintoshes arrived for the feast, “each one found himself seated with a Comyn on his right hand” and when the chief of the Mackintoshes gave the signal, “each Mackintosh drew his dirk and stabbed the Comyn next to him to the heart.” Sensing that his own daughter had betrayed him, the chief of the Comyns went to her apartment and after finding her dangling outside from the window sill, “appeared from above and with a sweep of his sword severed her hands,” thus ending up in the arms of her astonished Mackintosh lover standing below the window. ²³ As might be suspected, Rait Castle is supposedly haunted by a handless ghost.

Thus, clan Mackintosh, being the historical leader of Clan Chattan and the keeper of the royal castle at Inverness, was and still is to this day composed of at least two hundred septs or sub-septs of the Clan Chattan and as noted by George Eyre-Todd in 1923, continues to be “one of the most enthusiastic upholders of Highland traditions” ²⁴ going back to ancient times. Like most Scottish clans, the Mackintoshes have long been connected to a specific church or parish, in this instance, the parish of Petty and St. Columba's Church. In *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland*, Charles Rogers writes that since 1606 when Lachlan, the 16th Laird of Mackintosh, was “buried at Petty, it has been the family burial ground of the chiefs of the Clan Chattan” which

includes a family vault and a small sepulcher that holds other members of the clan Mackintosh. Also buried here is Alexander, the chief of the clan MacGillivray, killed at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. ²⁵

The best description of the parish of Petty comes from George Bain in *The Lordship of Petty*, published in 1925. As a community, Petty which is partially located in the county of Nairn but mostly in Inverness-shire, has always been agricultural in nature with most of its inhabitants employed as farmers, laborers, and fishermen with a minority in the “subservient arts” or as servants, such as with the “grey lad” of the MacGlashans. As told by the minister of Petty, circa the early 1790's, the inhabitants of Petty are “in general, sober, peaceful, and industrious” and tended to speak Gaelic. “There are no towns, villages, or manufactures in this parish,” relates Bain, and “all of the inhabitants are farmers or cottagers (who) are partly servants and labourers to the tenants and partly other occupations” like tailors, weavers, and shoemakers. ²⁶

Geographically, the parish of Petty lies about seven miles northeast of Inverness and is situated on Loch Beauly not too distant from Culloden Moor. About forty miles to the south of this area runs the River Spey, the second-longest river in the country that empties into the Moray Firth in the northeast. The upper section of the River Spey is referred to as Strathspey which is highlighted by the Cairngorms, one of Scotland's most beautiful mountain ranges and formerly called *Am Monadh Ruadh* or the Red Hills as contrasted with *Am Mondah Liath* or the Grey Hills on the western edge of the River Spey. ²⁷ As described by James Grant at the website *Names Associated with Clan Grant*, the sub-sept of the MacGlashans could be found in most of the parishes located in Strathspey since the earliest days of the clan system. Some of the various patronymic

surnames are McGilleglass, MacGlassen, MacGlashan, and MacDunachglashenach, all of which refer to an individual with gray hair or an ashen complexion. Grant adds that a large number of individuals belonging to the MacGlashans lived and worked in the small village of Avielochan in the parish of Duthil, ²⁸ located partially in the county of Elgin and Inverness-shire on the north side of the River Spey.

The most interesting description of Duthil is provided by the Reverend Patrick Grant for the year 1826--

“The ancient name of the parish of Duthil was *Glen-chernich*, signifying in Gaelic, “Glen of the Heroes,” and is situated upon a rising ground, commanding the prospects of a valley of about 1000 acres. The general appearance is hilly with the lower grounds being covered with wood and infested by wolves and other ravenous animals. The population, previous to the rebellion in 1745, has decreased considerably. About twenty years ago (ca. 1806), there was a considerable number of very credible gentlemen with families, most of whom have now become extinct, and the few remaining are soon likely to become so, their sons preferring various pursuits abroad.” ²⁹

In 1826, there were approximately fifty-four farmers with large families, three household servants, and about 230 domestic servants, a group in which one could certainly find a number of MacGlashans. Overall, the people of Duthil were “extremely industrious . . . in the cultivation of their possessions, superstitiously treading in the footsteps of their ancestors.” However, due to several famines, beginning about 1680, “whole tribes who enjoyed the comforts of life in a reasonable degree . . . emigrated from different parts of Scotland” to become their own “masters and freeholders” or legitimate landowners. This period of emigration would have included an unknown number of

MacGlashans via the abandonment of their small tenant farms and employment as domestic servants. ³⁰

From the documentation, it appears that circa the middle decades of the 1800's that the MacGlashans residing in the small hamlet of Avielochan in the parish of Duthil did participate in this era of emigration because not a single one is listed in the population count for the parish of Duthil in 1863 out of a total of 1,609 individuals. However, in the parish of Edenkillie (or Edinkillie), located in the county of Elgin and not too distant from Duthil, we find William MacGlashan, a farmer operating within the farmstead of Muir of Logie. ³¹ Although emigration to other parts of Scotland (and conceivably to America) helps to explain the absence of the MacGlashans in Duthil, there is another explanation concerning an event that occurred some one hundred and twenty years earlier--the Battle of Culloden where an unknown number of MacGlashans (or McGlassons) were killed, thus decimating the male line of descent.

Like other important military battles and campaigns fought on Scottish soil, a great deal of material has been written and published on the monumental Battle of Culloden which took place on April 16th, 1746. One of the best primary sources related to this pivotal event is George and Peter Anderson's *Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* via the chapter "Battle of Culloden on Drummossie Moor."

In retrospect, many historians have maintained that the Highlanders and their leaders made a crucial error when they decided to face the British on Drummossie Moor, even though their main objective was to protect Inverness. It also seems "equally certain that there was something worse than foolishness among the Highland leaders" in regards to fighting the British on an open stretch of moorland when strategically the

nearby and more confined hill country would have served far better. ³² Topographically, Drum Mossie Moor is quite bleak and dreary, while the “general smoothness of the ground. . . is favorable” for troop movements and the positioning of artillery, at least for the British. In effect, this stretch of emptiness without any kind of concealment, such as patches of trees or areas of dense shrubbery, was ill-suited for the protection of the Highland foot soldiers. ³³

Before and during the battle, an unknown number of Highlanders, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, traveled by foot to villages and hamlets near the city of Inverness in search of food and water. The most appropriate source for these essentials were the modest homes of other Highlanders and drinking establishments, such as local taverns. By the early morning hours of April 16th, the Macphersons of Badenoch were on the march toward Inverness which lies about five miles distant from Culloden moor. As observed by George and Peter Anderson, the right flank of Charles Edward Stewart's (the “Young Pretender”) front line was composed of men loyal to Lord George Murray and members of clan Cameron; in the center “stood the Frasers, Maclachlans, the Macleans, and the Mackintoshes” which certainly included the MacGlashans. The left flank was composed of the Stewarts, Farquharsons, and three regiments of the MacDonalds. In the rear, a small number of cavalry protected Prince Charlie and his French and Irish supporters. ³⁴ As to the Mackintoshes, William F. Skene notes that the Mackintosh forces numbered about 1700 men in 1745 with at least 1200 Highlanders from Clan Chattan participating in the conflagration on Culloden Moor. ³⁵

Although Bonnie Prince Charlie was considered as the undisputed leader of the Highlanders at Culloden, Lord George Murray apparently bore the brunt of the

military responsibility. However, repeated orders from the Prince to Murray were either never received or ignored, resulting in more than a hundred Highlanders stationed behind a stone wall being cut to pieces by British musket fire. Thus, the Mackintosh regiment “stood the firmest and were almost totally annihilated” by the British under the command of the Duke of Cumberland. ³⁶ When the battle was over, an estimated 1200 Highlanders were dead, along with an unknown number that had been killed as they lay wounded on the ground. Those that managed to survive were later executed as traitors or were fortunate enough to be captured and sent to the West Indies (i.e., the Caribbean) as slaves. On the British side, it is estimated that less than eighty of the King's men were killed at Culloden. ³⁷

Reliable documentation related to the participation of the MacGlashans in the Battle of Culloden is sketchy at best; however, four sources are of especial interest with information centering around 1745 to 1746—*The Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart* by William Drummond-Norie; *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families* by John James Hugh Henry Stewart-Murray Atholl; *Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family During the Rebellion, 1745-1746*; and the website RootsChat.com, based in Lancashire, England. This Internet-based entity provides an overview on two specific individuals--Charles MacGlashan and Neill MacGlashan who were involved in the First Jacobite Rebellion and ended up being captured at the Battle of Sherrifmuir on November 13th, 1715.

In a letter dated September 9th, 1745, Lord George Murray (1694 to 1760), the Scottish Jacobite general and the sixth son of John Murray, the first Duke of Atholl, makes a request to his brother Duke William (the Jacobite Duke of Atholl) to retain the

services of Neill MacGlashan as his personal dispatcher. “Pray keep,” writes Lord George Murray, “Mr. N. MacGlashan with you for despatches,” meaning that Neill served as a go-between for transmitting information between Murray and his brother in the form of letters and other types of documentation. A second letter dated September 7th from Lord George Murray to his brother declares “I shall order two or three clever runners to be waiting constantly at Charles MacGlashans to carry letters” from Dunkeld to Blair and Perth. ³⁸ As loyal Highland Jacobites, Charles and Neill MacGlashan with Charles being Neill's nephew were members of the Atholl Brigade, composed of three battalions commanded by the Duke of Atholl with one of the battalion commanders being Lord George Murray, appointed by Bonnie Prince Charlie as a Lieutenant General in the city of Perth. Also, both Charles and Neill were assigned as lieutenants in the Atholl Brigade. ³⁹ In reality then, Charles and Neill MacGlashan were true, red-blooded Highlanders who most probably participated in the Battle of Culloden.

These two letters predate the Battle of Prestonpans in which we can assume that Charles and Neill MacGlashan participated as Lieutenant Generals under the command of Lord George Murray. This battle occurred on September 21st, 1745 and is considered as the first important conflict of the Second Highlander Jacobite Rebellion. In this military confrontation, the Jacobite army under the leadership of Bonnie Prince Charlie roundly defeated British forces loyal to King George II with one of the results being an increase in confidence for the Highlanders. Another result was an increase in troop numbers via raw recruits composed of shopkeepers, farmers, and common laborers. On January 17th, 1746, the Jacobites under Bonnie Prince Charlie experienced a second victory at Falkirk Muir with Lord George Murray leading the way with six battalions. As

noted by Magnus Magnusson, the Battle of Prestonpans “lasted barely ten minutes but left a derisive legacy” for the English commander General Sir John Cope. ⁴⁰

A third letter from Lord George Murray to Neill MacGlashan (referred to as the secretary to the Duke of Atholl) dated October 4th, 1745, discusses bringing men into Edinburgh so as to increase the number of Highlander soldiers. “I’m extremely anxious to have our men here,” writes Murray, “at least as many as would make Lord Nairn's Battalion ⁴¹ and mine five hundred each.” Murray adds that he has been unable to supply his men with “guns, targets, tents, and those who want them, shoes also.” Another undated letter, possibly written sometime around mid-October, comes from Charles MacGlashan to Neill MacGlashan, the “writer at Clune.” In this piece of correspondence, Charles relates that despite an order from the Duke of Atholl, he is unable to send much-needed food to Blair Castle, ⁴² the ancestral home of the clan Murray, adding that the little food he currently has is even unsuitable for the needs of his family. ⁴³

From the information provided by the RootsChat.com website, it appears that Charles MacGlashan was the proprietor (as a vintner or wine-maker) of an inn at Dalnacardoch in the parish of Blair Athole, Perthshire, not too far from Inverness. ⁴⁴ This would help explain Lord George Murray's request to have “two or three clever runners to be waiting constantly at Charles MacGlashans to carry letters” in his correspondence to his brother Duke William dated September 7th, 1745. Interestingly, Patrick MacGlashan (possibly Charles' younger brother) was also running an inn at Blair. William Drummond-Norie in *The Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, writes that on March 17th, 1746, Bonnie Prince Charlie was occupying the village

of Blair and using Patrick MacGlashan's inn as his headquarters. Possibly, Bonnie Prince Charlie knew Patrick MacGlashan by name.

As the story goes, Bonnie Prince Charlie “dispatched a messenger with a letter to Sir Andrew, ⁴⁵ calling upon him to instantly surrender” (Blair Castle). It appeared afterwards that “no Highlander . . . could be prevailed upon to carry the summons (i.e., to surrender Blair Castle),” due to Sir Andrews' reputation of possessing a furious temper when crossed or disappointed. But then a pretty maid servant working at Patrick MacGlashan's inn volunteered to carry the summons. Upon her arrival at Blair Castle, she read the summons to surrender with the result being much laughter from the British occupying the castle. ⁴⁶ One month later, following the Highland Jacobite catastrophe at Culloden, Charles MacGlashan was captured and spent an unknown length of time in the tollbooth (i.e., the courthouse jail) in Perth for aiding and abetting the Jacobite rebels. ⁴⁷ Also, it seems that another individual named William MacGlashan of Aberdeenshire, described as a rebel carrying weapons for the Highland Jacobites and as a dealer in horses, was commandeered for “lurking about” Culloden following the battle, hopefully I might suggest in search of a fallen comrade rather than scattered, bloody coins or some type of keepsake worth a few ales at MacGlashan’s inn.⁴⁸

After the Battle of Culloden, the lives of the rebellious Highland Jacobites that had remained faithful to Bonnie Prince Charlie and had managed to survive the Culloden moor slaughter changed forever. New British legislation known as the Disarming Acts demanded that all weapons in Scotland be given up and that the wearing of the tartan, the kilt, and “any part whatever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highlander,” including bagpipes and national songs, were strictly prohibited and

outlawed. Failure to obey this new law could mean banishment from Scotland and even death by hanging. ⁴⁹ The lives of the MacGlashans also changed dramatically, considering that most of the male line had been butchered at Culloden. Thus, as noted by William Sanderson, most Highlanders became emotionally despondent and took on what some scholars have referred to as “Celtic gloom” or a deep personal sadness for failing their king-to-be Bonnie Prince Charlie. ⁵⁰

At this juncture, I would like to discuss what is now so obvious--that the Scottish histories of the people that lived deep in the national background as virtual unknowns, people like the MacGlashans, have been thoroughly neglected by some historians due to the British victory and slaughter at the moors of Culloden. Prior to this highly-influential military struggle on Scottish soil, our Highlanders of Aberdeen, Blair Atholl, Dalnacardoch, Clune, Dunkeld, and other out of the way places near Loch Ness lived relatively happy and industrious lives as farmers, toilers, workers, and owners and simply wished to be left alone to earn their living and raise their herds of children and oxen. But the Crown had other ideas; it was the way of the Crown or the way of the rope or the dreadful non-life of a galley slave piling the icy-cold waters of the North Atlantic or ending up in even more dreadful and dire straits as a young captive in a growing hot spot across the Atlantic Ocean known as Colonial America.

Back home in Scotland, the remaining MacGlashans of the clan Mackintosh and Clan Chattan, now mostly composed of widows and children, were facing “the influence of an extraordinary prejudice” against them while nearby Ireland was experiencing the remnants of a devastating famine that forced millions of Irish poor to freeze to death in their barren potato fields. Poor Ireland--could anything good come out of this

malnourished island nation where poets and wandering bards once reigned supreme? ⁵¹

Thus, as William F. Skene so astutely observes, the indiscretions of numerous scholars and the writers of history and of Scottish fable have assumed far too much in relation to the character of the Highlander following Culloden. Therefore, allow me to add my own somewhat biased assumption--in 1746, our weapons may have been gone, our spirits may have been crushed, our songs and deeds denied, but the Highlanders of the great clan system would be back to fight and win once again but in truly different ways, such as through the development of influential national newspapers and the continuing Scottish insurrection via the “Radical Wars” of 1820. This of course is in relation to a second (or perhaps future third) Scottish referendum on Scotland’s independence from the British Crown which if ever achieved will surely bring about a new and exciting era in Scotland’s long and fascinating history.

ENDNOTES

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39. Alastair Livingstone, Christian W.H. Aikman, and Betty Stuart Hart, Eds., *No*

Quarter Given: The Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46 (Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing, Ltd., 2001), 19-21.

40. *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*, 592-596.

41. Lord Nairn appears to have been John Murray (1691-1770), the son of Lord William Murray. As one of the Jacobite leaders in 1745, John Murray was present at the Battle of Prestonpans, Falkirk Muir, and Culloden where he was apparently captured but later on escaped to France.

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42. Blair Castle was occupied twice by Bonnie Prince Charlie and his Jacobite rebels in early September of 1745 which corresponds with the letter by Lord George Murray to his brother Duke William on September 9, 1745. In Christopher Duffy, *The '45: Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Untold Story of the Jacobite Rising* (London: Cassell, 2003), 185-186.

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45. Lieutenant General Sir Andrew Agnew, 5th Baronet and commander of the Royal Scots Fusiliers Infantry of the British Army.

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SECTION THREE:

KIDNAPPED! NO, NOT DAVID BALFOUR

The opening scenario of Scotsman Robert Louis Stevenson's 1886 adventure novel *Kidnapped!* occurs sometime after the massacre at Culloden Moor with many of his characters having been "borrowed" from real life, one being the principle character of Alan Breck Stewart who somewhat resembles the Duke of Atholl or perhaps Lord George Murray who certainly knew Charles MacGlashan and his "rebel" inn at Dalnacardoch. Thanks to Stevenson's support of the Jacobite cause to see a Scotsman on the throne, almost every Jacobite rebel portrayed in *Kidnapped!* is viewed in a kind light reminiscent of William Sanderson's overview of the rebels but only if we eliminate his "Celtic gloom" diagnosis.

As observed by Christopher MacLachlan, beneath the thin veneer of realism, astute literary scholars and good readers will notice that some of Stevenson's motifs in *Kidnapped!* are structured like fairy tales that tend to be figuratively copied from tales based on gnomes and trolls and the mysterious Bent Grey Lad with one toenail too long. MacLachlan also observes that some other "Jacobite" novels like Stevenson's *The Master of Ballantrae* utilize the same fairy tale structure, ¹ such as a good Scottish son anxious to receive his inheritance from his one hundred year-old grandfather but only to be "indentured" as a slave or worse, placed aboard a dingy, then a decaying ship bound for the West Indies or the new American colonies--New York (New Amsterdam); Maryland; the Carolinas; or as in our case, the Commonwealth of Virginia which in 1750 was populated by skulking Indians and white farmers from Europe, Ireland and even Scotland. Thus, the "Two Tall Tales" that follow must not be fully trusted as factual

and true, due mostly to the total absence of primary documentation like first-hand accounts, diaries, and journals. So be forewarned and please assume that these “fairy” tales are somewhat true or at least represent part of the truth, whichever happens to come first, and that they represent the adventures and/or forced exploits of a young Scottish lad whose good and strong Jacobite brothers (perhaps as many as eight or twelve) were slaughtered at Culloden Moor on April 16th, 1746.

With the first “Tall Tale,” if the information concerning the loss of at least eight male MacGlashan Jacobite rebels at Culloden Moor is accurate (at the Culloden site, it appears that the MacGlashans are buried in a mass grave of clan Mackintosh), then the only alleged male survivor, being twelve year-old William MacGlashan (McGlasson) must have led a very sad life in Scotland while possibly living with his mother and perhaps a handful of sisters. According to genealogical compiler Marguerite Ward at Genealogy.com, William McGlasson was “brought from Scotland to Virginia and was apprenticed as a carpenter in Richmond.” Another contributor relates that William was “kidnapped by an Englishman and brought to Richmond, Virginia, sometime before 1753” at the age of nineteen. “He was probably an indentured servant who worked as an apprenticed carpenter to pay for his passage to America. His family may have been from Aberdeen.” ² If this is true, then it upholds the indentured or domestic servant angle of the mysterious “grey lad.”

This account raises a few important questions. First, if every adult male member of the MacGlashans was killed at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, why would anyone allow the last male survivor in the geographical area of Aberdeen and/or Inverness to pack up his meager bits of property and head out into the vast unknown at twelve years of age,

even if he was “kindly” taken from his ramshackle “turf” home by an unidentified relative of Jacobite persuasion? As noted by Henry Grey Graham of “The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,” Scotland and England had long been socially separated by “immemorial antagonism,” by “bitter historical traditions, (and) enduring “strengths of inveterate prejudice.” This was especially true in relation to the various ways that people attempted to live a “normal” life without facing truly hardened hatreds and prejudices, all because of social and religious rank or position. ³

Thus, for a young and Blakean Scot like William McGlasson, making the journey from Aberdeen to a port city on the other side of the Atlantic was not an easy thing to do; roadways were “excreble, and the cost of traveling and lodging was appalling” for the poor and indigent. Isolation was everywhere, due in part to the geography of the land. ⁴ One of the most pivotal results of this situation was that old and cherished customs associated with family remained in the Highlands with “few peculiar habits . . . having passed away.” ⁵ One that comes to mind is the importance of having a male member in the Highlander household to act as head of the family and when needed, to marry and carry on the family name and clan affiliation. Obviously, William McGlasson did none of this.

It also bears some substance that William had an older brother James (born ca. 1725) who managed to survive Culloden and might have helped young William to “relocate” to a geographical area in Colonial America highly reminiscent of the Highlands known as Buckingham County, Virginia. Hereditarily, as an adult, William fathered two sons that later served in the Virginian Infantry during the American Revolutionary War against the Crown of George III. James also seems to have been a

man of the cloth (possibly of the Anglican Church) and served in the infantry during the Revolutionary War. ⁶ Is it feasible that William McGlasson (a.k.a. William MacGlashan of Aberdeenshire) was the same person that was “commandeered for lurking about” Culloden following the battle, perhaps searching for his dead brothers and any of their possessions?

The second story or “fairy” version comes from Robert Lee McGlasson (1926-2003) who served in the U.S. Navy and the Marines with distinction in World War II and later the Korean conflict. According to some notes written by Robert Lee (an amateur genealogist), William McGlasson was born in 1734 in the city of Glasgow with apparently no siblings. Around the age of twelve, William was “abducted” by an Englishman and taken to the Virginia Colony which at the time was burgeoning with Europeans trying to make a simple living for themselves, much like in Scotland but with more religious and political freedom. Traditionally, Robert Lee relates that William was “kidnapped” by “said Englishman” which suggests “impressment” for the duties of an ordinary seaman; in other words like Stevenson’s David Balfour, William McGlasson was “shanghaied” sometime after the Battle of Culloden that “wiped out most of the McGlassons.” ⁷

Also, Robert Lee agrees that William McGlasson was “apprenticed to a carpenter” in the sprawling city of Richmond, circa 1750, and then decided to relocate to Buckingham County, seen as the geographical center of the state of Virginia. Here, William married and raised an apparently solid Scottish stock of sons and daughters. But in this scenario, James McGlasson was one of William’s younger sons rather than as a “man of the cloth” who served in the Revolutionary War. In addition, Robert Lee

points out that sources for this account (and others I fear) are non-existent. As he observes, “Stranger things do occur when one begins to deal with these older, near-mythical records,” an indication that the documentation on William McGlasson and other MacGlashans in the Highlands of Scotland are quite scarce and that what remains tends to be based on familial “fairy tales” concerning ancestors whose hearts are in the Highlands with Robbie Burns amid “the misty Bens and heather hills/The somber forest trees” that forever haunt the memories of men. ⁸

The exceptions, of course, are church and marriage records, family volumes like the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, and directories like *Black's Morayshire Directory* of 1863. Also, a document like Mary Ruth Jackson-Gerlach's “Matthew McGlasson (1755/56-1834: Descendants Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, and Kin” is of no practical use for dedicated historians solely interested in Scotland except for the sliver of information (more “fairy tale” fodder) concerning the shanghaied William McGlasson whose surname was Anglicized from MacGlashan at an unknown date.

However, the suggestions made above concerning the fate of young William McGlasson may not be that far from the actual truth, at least historically. Between the years 1740 and 1746 in the geographical vicinity of Aberdeen, “persons of both sexes were kidnapped, put on board ships, and dispatched” to the large plantations in the American Deep South in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. Even though these unfortunate individuals were white, they nonetheless ended up as slaves. According to some highly reliable documentation, those who were “kidnapped” or “impressed” (i.e., forced) “were openly driven in flocks through the town, like herds of sheep, under the care of a keeper armed with a whip.” Many times, these persons spent time in the public

workhouse or the dreaded tollbooth prison where many Highlanders were contained as rebels after the massacre at Culloden. ⁹ Also, around 1740, some unscrupulous Scotsmen in and about Aberdeen and Inverness “engaged in the nefarious trade of kidnapping young men as they could entice or compel” to sail away aboard a strange ship bound for plantations in Virginia. ¹⁰ Certainly, one obvious reason for these acts of kidnapping was that the supply of good and hardy men from the Highlands were scarce, partially due to being killed and/or captured at the Battle of Culloden.

ENDNOTES

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4. Ibid, 1-2.
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SECTION FOUR:

THE LIEUTENANT AND THE COLONEL

On the gloamy morning of April 16th, 1746, the Highlander Mackintosh forces fighting against the British Crown numbered about 1700 men, all loyal to Bonnie Prince Charlie and the deteriorating Jacobite '45 movement. And even the well-planned strategies made by men like the Duke of Atholl and Lord George Murray often fell to the wayside or were altered according to the situation at hand. For example, when Lord Cumberland's British forces "could be seen marching toward the tired and hungry men of Nairn at five o'clock sharp," Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Duke of Perth, the Duke of Atholl, and the men of Lord George Murray "mounted their horses, ordered the drums to beat and the pipes to play their most stirring tunes to stir the men" who were half-dead with no sleep or nourishment. Although supported by a total of about 5000 Highlanders, Bonnie Prince Charlie "remained cheerful and confident" when he encountered 9000 of Britain's finest cavalry foot soldiers. Surely, at this juncture, the old "Celtic blood" was flowing in the veins of the Highlanders who were prepared to fight to the death. ¹

By the early 19th century and some sixty years past Culloden, some of the MacGlashans began to leave their native Scotland and head for better (or at least idealized) greener pastures in other lands. Some of the boldest and most obedient to the British Crown (yes, a few MacGlashans were Royalists) decided to abandon their Highlander lifestyle of poverty and prejudice and join the British Army in order to serve in the name of King George IV Regent who came to power after his father George III went mad. At about this time, circa 1816, James McGlashan distinguished himself as a

colonel in the British Army of the Knights of the Order of the Guelphs (K.H.), sometimes referred to as the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, a Germany-based order of chivalry created on April 28th, 1815 by King George IV Regent. Thus, as a distinguished member of this order, Captain James McGlashan experienced one of Western Europe's most violent and controversial military events--the Battle of Waterloo and other related military engagements set against the self-imposed dictator of the world, being the arrogant and megalomaniac Napoleon Bonaparte. ²

In *Wellington's Men Remembered*, Janet and David Bromley relate that James Edwin McGlashan, born in 1791 in Scotland, was a lieutenant in the 2nd Battalion Light Infantry which led skirmishes with the enemy at or near the front lines. The following description of James McGlashan has been taken verbatim from his headstone at the British Garrison Cemetery in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon):

"Here lies the body of Capt. James MacGlashan (notice the original spelling of the surname) of HMS's XIX Regiment who died on the 2nd of December, 1817, aged 26 years. He distinguished himself at the battles of Buzaco and Albuera. He served in Germany where he was appointed a companion of the Guelphic Order of Knighthood. And he obtained the medal bestowed by (his) grateful country on all who fought at Waterloo. In his last illness, he received the holy sacrament with exemplary devotion and under the lingering approach of a painful death. He was sustained by manly fortitude and Christian hope." ³

An interesting story provided by Charles Carmichael, the caretaker of the graveyard under the auspices of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, relates that Captain MacGlashan "came out of the battles without a scratch," but that during his

stay in Ceylon, he “took a bet that he could walk 124 miles from Ceylon’s northeast coast” to the hill town of Kandy while “ignoring the hazards and the monsoon. He got wet and had to sleep under trees in his wet clothes bitten by mosquitoes and leeches. He survived a few days (and) on the last day, he told another captain, “I don’t think I’ll survive.” Apparently, he was quite correct because he fell sound asleep and never woke up. ⁴

As military history, the Battle of Busaco occurred on September 27th, 1810, making MacGlashan a mere nineteen years old. This event is considered by military historians as one of the Peninsula Wars in Central Portugal with the British set against the French. Leadership on the British side was under Lieutenant General Viscount Wellington with Marshal Andre Massena, Prince of Essling and Duke of Rivoli as commander of the French. This rather bloody spectacle involved more than 50,000 British and Portuguese troops up against 65,000 French troops with Wellington as the victor; French casualties were significantly higher than those associated with the British and Portuguese. ⁵ Likewise, the Battle of Albuera is also seen as a Peninsula War that occurred on May 16th, 1811 in Spain near the Portuguese border southeast of the port city of Badajoz. This battle involved British, Portuguese, and Spanish troops set against the French under the command of Marshal Soult with about 32,000 British allied troops against 23,000 French fighters armed with forty cannon. The victors, much like Busaco, were the British, Portuguese, and Spanish. ⁶

As noted by the inscription on his headstone, Sir James was also involved in one of the bloodiest battles of the early 19th century, being the Battle of Waterloo that was fought on June 18th, 1815 in what is now Belgium. This important conflagration

between Napoleon Bonaparte and the Seventh Coalition under the command of the Duke of Wellington and ably assisted by the Prussian army resulted in Napoleon's defeat which brought about a period of European peace and prosperity, especially after Napoleon abdicated for the second time. ⁷ Interestingly, MacGlashan was severely wounded at another battle in Spain and ended up serving under Lieutenant General Sir James Lyon, the governor of the island nation of Barbados, as an "aide de camp" or personal assistant or secretary to Sir James Lyon. ⁸

There is also Neil MacGlashan, a captain with the 42nd Royal Highland Foot Regiment who served with gallantry from July of 1809 to July of 1811 at numerous battles like Busaco and Fuentes d'Onoro. However, Neil MacGlashan was apparently killed in action in Lisbon, Portugal on July 22nd, 1811 at the young age of twenty-two. It is wholly possible that Neil MacGlashan was related to our earlier described Neill MacGlashan, the "writer at Clune" and the secretary of the Duke of Atholl in October of 1745, and in some capacity to a certain John MacGlashan, a private in the same 42nd Royal Highland Foot Regiment who was present at Waterloo. But luckily, John managed to survive numerous bloody battles during the Napoleonic era and lived until 1869. ⁹

We now transition from one major war to another but this time in the United States, particularly to an historical/military period when an estimated 750,000 men were killed (not including women and those that died from disease and starvation) in some of the bloodiest fighting of all time--the American Civil War which endured from April of 1861 until April of 1865 when Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to Union General Ulysses Grant at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia. Some historians have called the Civil War the greatest transitional period in American history,

considering that African-Americans or former slaves achieved their “freedom” via Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation and the rebuilding of the devastated Old South via the First and Second Reconstruction eras which terminated with the Presidency of Ulysses Grant, circa 1877.

In *Burnside’s Bridge: The Climatic Struggle of the 2nd and 20th Georgia at Antietam Creek*, historian Phillip T. Tucker discusses at some length Peter Alexander Selkirk McGlashan, a Confederate Brigadier General born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1831 and the son of another James MacGlashan who served at Waterloo. At this time, the ancestral connections between General Peter MacGlashan and other MacGlashans that served in Europe during the Napoleonic wars remain unclear. However, his grandfather was the last clan chief of the MacGlashans in Scotland and in 1848 headed to California to seek his fortune during Gold Rush. ¹⁰

Some of the battles in which MacGlashan openly participated because of his rank includes the Seven Days Battle in Virginia; the Battle of Chancellorsville; the Battle of Gettysburg; the Campaigns of Chattanooga (Lookout Mountain) and Knoxville, Tennessee; the Overland Campaign; the Battle of Cedar Creek (with an ancestor named Andrew McGlashan); the Petersburg Campaign; the 2nd Manassas; Sharpsburg; Fredericksburg; and the Battle of Saylor’s Creek where he was captured and subsequently imprisoned in the Old Capital Prison in Washington, DC. ¹¹ Certainly, Brigadier General MacGlashan was privy to some of the bloodiest fighting of the war.

Amazingly, MacGlashan’s obituary from an unidentified Savannah, Georgia, newspaper dated June 15th, 1908, relates that he was imprisoned in the Old Capital Prison in Washington, DC on the night of April 14, 1865 when President Abraham

Lincoln was shot by actor John Wilks Booth at Ford's Theater. This prison was also home to the Lincoln conspirators Mary Surratt, David Herold, Lewis Powell, and George Atzerodt, all of whom were hanged for their part in the President's assassination. It is fascinating to consider what MacGlashan and his fellow rebel inmates were thinking once they discovered that President Lincoln had been shot by a Confederate ally at the theater.¹² Some were certainly overjoyed to hear the devastating news only five days after Appomattox; how MacGlashan reacted is not known, but his Scottish heritage must have caused him to become emotionally affected, considering that some of his ancestors had been killed at Culloden and Waterloo and that deep in his soul, he realized that the Old South was lost forever.

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SECTION FIVE:

THE ARTISTIC MACGLASHANS

“When we look into the past,” writes Brian Wilson, Minister of State at the Scottish Office for Energy and Industry, “it is often through the arts that we evaluate the quality of earlier civilizations. Thus, the achievements of ancient Greece and Rome and Renaissance Italy are revealed by their works of art. These are not solely a gauge of aesthetic quality but of the wealth and confidence of the societies that produced them.” ¹ After a prolonged search on the Internet and in many specialized reference books, I came across three individuals with solid Scottish backgrounds that appropriately serve as Wilson’s gauges for aesthetic or artistic quality--musician Alexander MacGlashan; publisher and editor James MacGlashan of Edinburgh; and painter Archibald McGlashan.

Born in the city of Edinburgh sometime around 1740 during the flowering of the Second Jacobite Rebellion, Alexander MacGlashan has been described as a tall and commanding person, often referred to as “King MacGlashan” for his flashy style of dress reminiscent of a member of the monarchy. In Edinburgh, MacGlashan was a well-known and respected musician and composer, mostly for the violin. Between 1780 and 1781, MacGlashan released two musical collections--“A Collection of Strathspey Reels with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord” and “A Collection of Scots Measures, Hornpipes, Jigs, Allmands, and Cotillions.” ² These and other musical compositions were sold at British music publisher Neil Stewart’s music shop in Parliament Square in Edinburgh. ³

McGlashan was also responsible for instructing an up-and-coming Scottish

violinist named Nathaniel Gow, born in Inver, Perthshire (not surprisingly, in close proximity to Little Dunkeld, Inverness-shire) in 1763. Due to his father being an appreciated folk violinist, the younger Gow was sent to Edinburgh to receive lessons from Robert Mackintosh, a highly-talented violinist and composer also from Perthshire/Little Dunkeld. It seems that Gow the younger was more prone to complex musical expression as an accomplished cellist for MacGlashan's popular dance band which quickly revealed his performing abilities. But unfortunately, Nathaniel Gow's music had become somewhat "old-fashioned" by 1818 which forced him into bankruptcy. In 1800, Gow had written several keyboard fantasies that were not taken seriously at the time; ironically, the great Frederick Chopin became well-known for his piano fantasies in Paris in 1831, the year that Nathaniel Gow died. ⁴ It has been documented that Scotland's eternal Poet Laureate Robert Burns set some of his poetical musical tunes to MacGlashan's melodies, such as "A Collection of Strathspey Reels," "A Collection of Scots Measures," and other Scottish reels. ⁵

Secondly, James MacGlashan, born circa 1800, was an editor and writer for the well-known *Blackwood's Magazine* which published works by poets Percy Shelley, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and William Wordsworth. One of the magazine's greatest successes was the publication of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in the early issues of 1899. In 1830, MacGlashan relocated to Dublin, Ireland, where he eventually formed his own publishing company. ⁶ For horror fans, MacGlashan published five short stories by one of the masters of the genre--Sheridan Le Fanu, best-known for *In a Glass Darkly* and the female vampire tale *Carmilla*. These five short tales were originally published in MacGlashan's *Dublin University Magazine* and were later known as *The*

Purcell Papers. Most of these tales are true Gothic horror masterpieces: “The Fortunes of Sir Robert Ardagh” (1838), similar to Christopher Marlowe’s tragic play *Doctor Faustus*; “Strange Events in the Life of Schalken the Painter” (1839) that concerns love after death; “The Mysterious Lodger: Parts I & II (ca. 1850); and “The Watcher” (1851) which appeared in *Ghost Stories and Tales of Mystery*.⁷

Born on March 16, 1888 in the city of Paisley, Scotland, Archibald McGlashan was mostly known for his renderings in oil of children and still lifes; one of his best-known paintings is “John Napier of Merchiston, 1550-1617,” the discoverer of mathematical logarithms. McGlashan was educated in the sprawling city of Glasgow and studied at the Glasgow School of Art where he became a member of the so-called “Glasgow Four” of Scottish art that included Robert Sivell, James Cowie, and Jack Lamond. Apparently, McGlashan and his three “kindred spirits” were openly “encouraged to analyze and examine some of the best paintings of the Italian Renaissance,” such as Titian, Leonardo da Vinci, and Tintoretto.⁸ As a founding member of the Glasgow Society of Painters and Sculptors, McGlashan was often described as yielding an “affectionate brush that seemed at a touch to bring life to a face, to a hovering butterfly, or to a shaft of light, while his sense of color (was) bold, sometimes hectic,” but able to make human flesh seem real and tangible.⁹ Unlike other MacGlashans mentioned in this document, Archibald McGlashan was one of the few contemporaries of today, having died on January 3rd, 1980 at the age of ninety-two.

ENDNOTES

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SECTION SIX:

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

At this point, I would like to touch upon a few topics that I consider worthy of discussion if for no other reason than out of sheer perversity as Edgar Poe once said so deliciously in his Scottish-inspired tale “The Black Cat” (Clan Chattan?). First of all, I have often wondered why there are so few families in the United States with the surname of MacGlashan or some other derivative. Is it because of Culloden where an unknown number of Highlander male MacGlashans ended up killed by British sabers and musket fire? Statistically, as noted by the highly-popular Ancestry.com website, there existed a mere seventy-three McGlasson families in the U.S. in 1920 (far less if any had variant surname spellings like MacGlashan). I seem to recall somewhere that in or around the year 2000, about 756 families named McGlasson lived in the U.S. Out of the entire U.S. population as of 2021, that equates to less than 0.01 percent or somewhere in that general area. And much like in 1920 and earlier in the mid 1850’s, most McGlassons lived in either Texas, Oklahoma, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, or Kentucky, with a few scattered here and there in California (recall General Peter MacGlashan and the Gold Rush) and several others in California with links to the railroad industry. To be honest, I personally have no interest in knowing about the life of an ancestor that lived a hundred or so years ago, unless they were great scientists, artists, or mass murderers, but an ancestor that lived a thousand years ago would be much more interesting. However, such an adventure in ancestral heritage is not very feasible unless dependable documentation somehow springs to life to reveal that a MacGlashan ancestor had undisputable ties to William Wallace or Richard the Lionhearted.

In addition to Western and world history, I have always had a deep love for archeology, especially Egyptian, Roman, and Greek. But thanks to the organization Archeology for Communities in the Highlands (ARCH) in Ross-shire, Scotland, impressive remains and artifacts associated with the Mackintoshes, Clan Chattan, and its various septs have been uncovered, with the result being more knowledge, questions, and astonishment. As Faye Simpson, Department of Archeology at the University of Exeter, and Howard Williams, Department of History and Archeology at the University of Chester, explain it, community archeology or excavations made in public places helps to conceptualize “the relationship between the past and the present and the relationship between archeology and the public.” ¹

From my own perspective, if an archeological team or organization starts out small (i.e., in a public spot like an old privy), it can then expand its search based on the recovered artifacts. It is also less expensive this way as compared to excavating a site underneath a busy highway or public street, such as in London, where the mortal remains of King Richard III were found under a parking lot. As I have always believed, small objects often tell a bigger and more important story than a large object that has been smashed to pieces because of looting or some kind of natural calamity. As any experienced archeologist knows all too well, one small fragment can lead to a whole new world of discovery.

The beginning of our discussion on the history of the MacGlashans in Scotland opened with a look at how geology plays such an important role in the development of a nation’s people and how the geological environment influences the events of history itself. As a geological and geographical phenomenon, Scotland is perhaps one of the

most rugged and “airy” places on earth with monoliths of basalt jammed one on top of another and valleys stretching for hundreds of miles among torrential rivers and deep, dark lochs that legend says are inhabited by strange creatures no human being has ever seen. Environmentally, imagine the difficulty faced by a group of Highlanders of Inverness-shire attempting to cross through one of these mountain chains for a clan meeting or coming face-to-face with an enemy clan ready for battle and inevitable death.

The clan map provided in this document helps to illustrate the separateness of the clans, even when one is directly up against another. No indication of what lies between one clan and another is shown in detail, so remember that the only forms of transportation for Highlanders in 1550 was either by walking, riding a horse, or taking a horse or oxen-drawn wagon that usually broke down because of the incredible roughness and angularity of the ground.

I believe that Arthur Herman in *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* sums up the history of the “Kingdom of the Picts” quite remarkably. As Herman observes, although for many centuries, Scotland was a “culturally and materially backward nation,” a strong and hardy group of forward-thinking Scotsmen (and their women) pressed on to alter their portion of the planet and thus change the world. Prior to the conclusion of the 18th century, being the so-called period of the Scottish Enlightenment, “Scotland would generate the basic institutions, ideas, attitudes, and habits of mind that characterize the modern age. Scotland and the Scots would go on to blaze a trail across the global landscape in both a literal and figurative sense, and open a new era in human history. In fact, the very notion of “human history” is in itself . . . a largely Scottish invention.” ²

Even though my chances of ever traveling to Scotland are rather slim, I still heartily agree with William Sanderson, author of *Scottish Life and Character*, that I am not alone in my love for Scottish literature (especially the poetry of Robert Burns), the richness of Scotland for future historical research, and the wealth of folklore that seems to be everywhere. As Sanderson puts it, “it is almost certain that he (the proverbial Highlander) will desire to return again and again, til’ he can almost say” along with Robbie Burns, the words to “My Heart’s in the Highlands”:

The misty bens and heather hills,
The somber forest trees,
The lonely glens and mountain rill
The deep clear inland seas,
Still ever haunt the memory
And wake the hope within me
That I’ll return again. ³

ENDNOTES

1. Faye Simpson, & Howard Wilson, “Evaluating Community Archeology in the UK,” *Public Archeology*, Vol. 7, no. 2, Summer 2008, 69-70.
2. *The True Story of how Western Europe’s Poorest Nation Created Our World & Everything In It* (NY: Three Rivers Press, 2001), 11.
3. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1914), 151.

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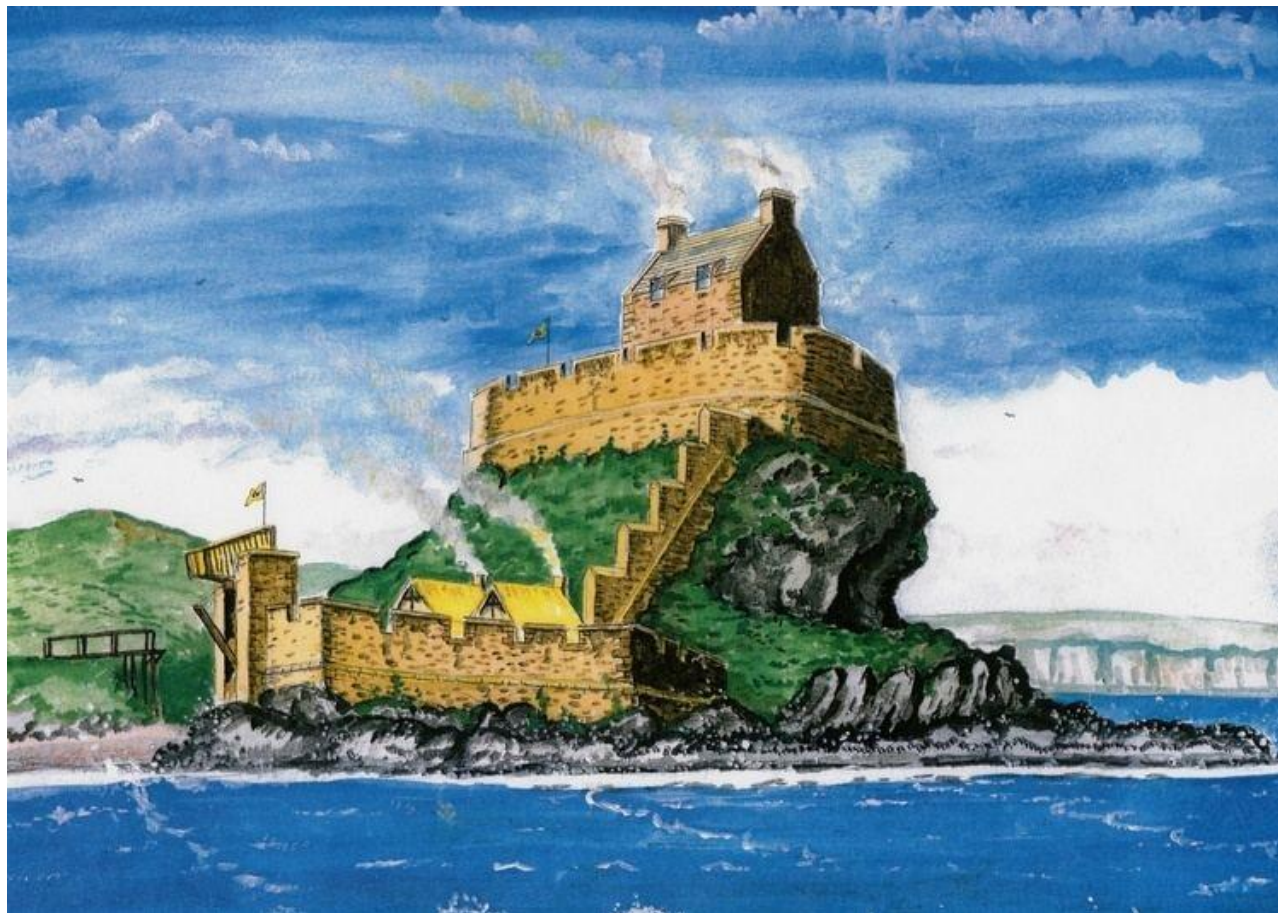
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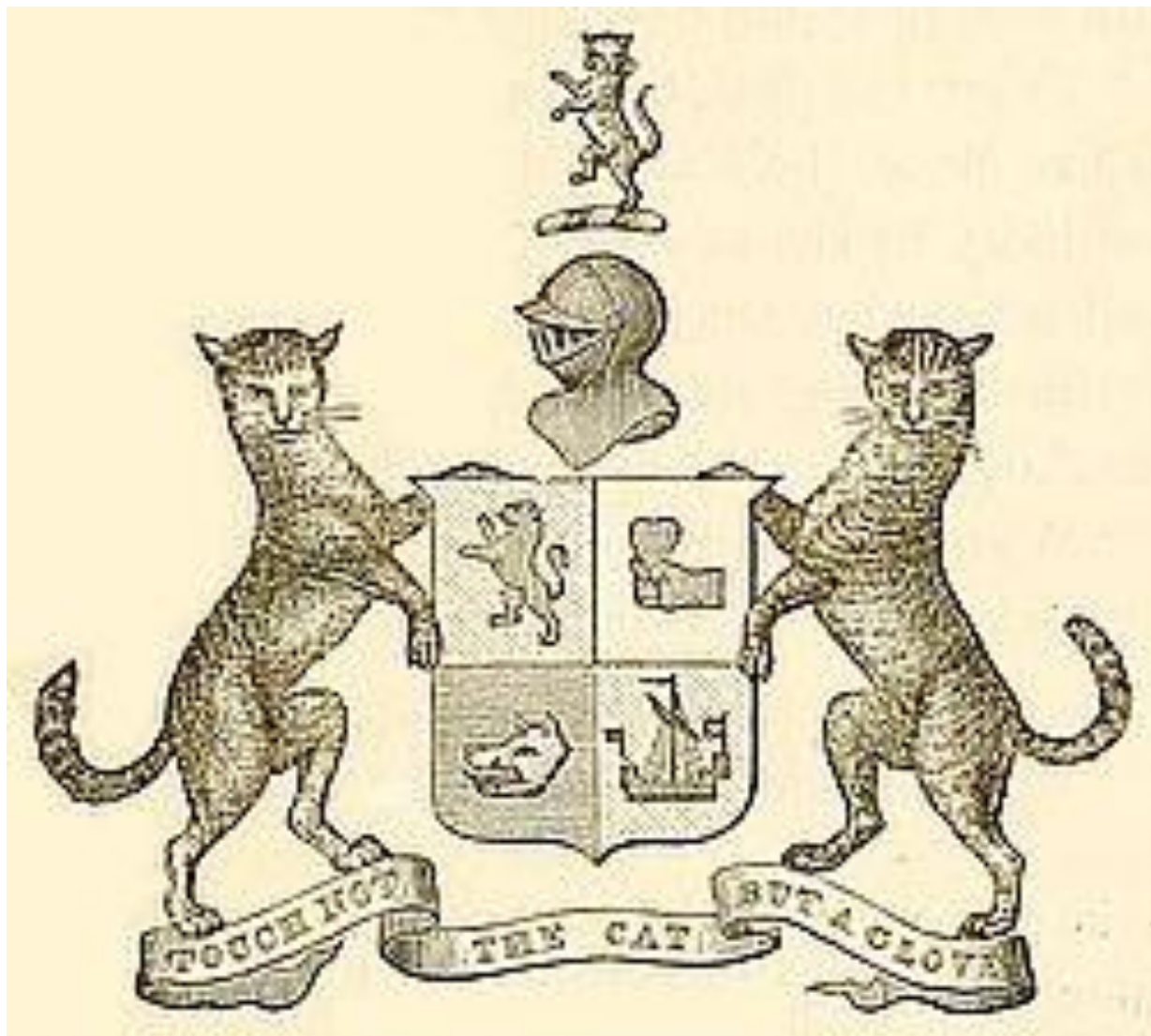
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PICTURE GALLERY

1. Dunaverty Castle, ca. 1640. Watercolor re-creation by Andrew Spratt©



2. Clan Chattan Badge. Taken from *Scottish Highlands: Highland Clans and Regiments* by John Scott Keltie, Vol. 2, 1875. "Touch Not The Cat But A Glove."



3. Moy Hall, Inverness-shire, ancestral home of the clan Mackintosh/Clan Chattan

4. Clan Map of Scotland



5. Inverness Castle, ca. 1500. Watercolor re-creation by Andrew Spratt©



6. Petty Church and Watch House, Petty, Scotland. Photo by Susan Kruse©



Petty Church, Mackintosh Mausoleum, Petty, Scotland. Photo by Susan Kruse©